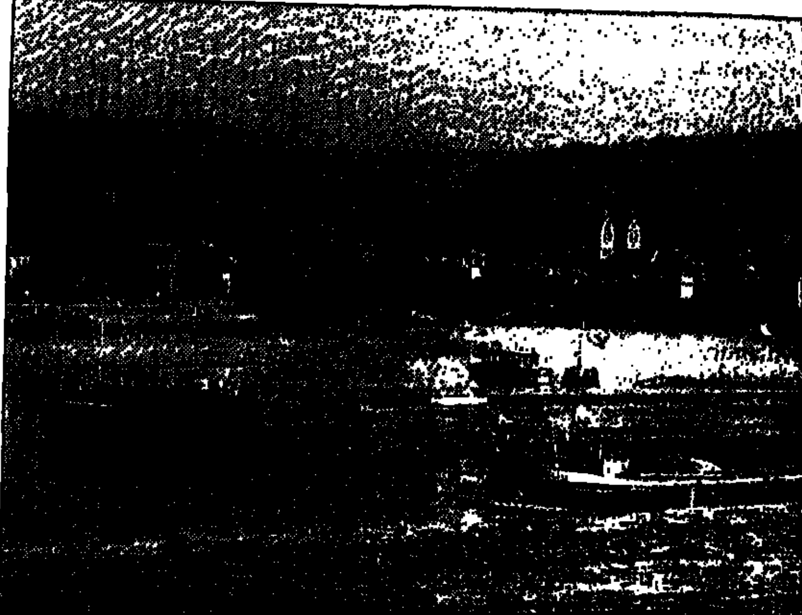
Routes to tour in Germany

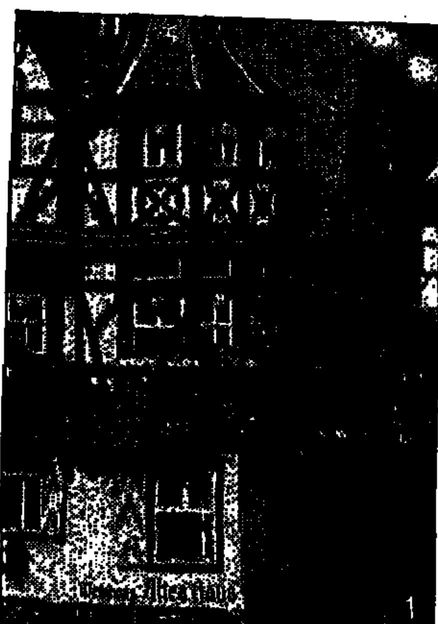
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Bacharach
Rheindiebach

The Rheingold Route

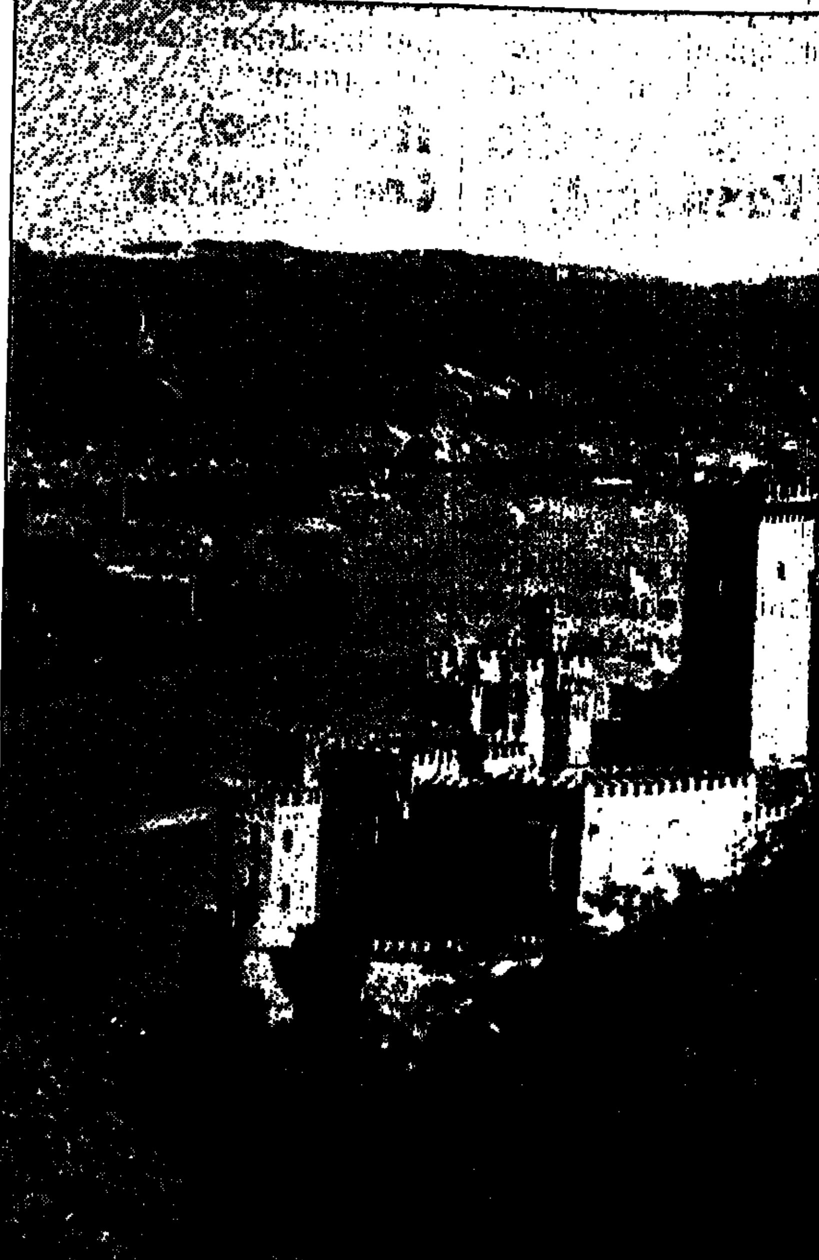
German roads will get you there – to the Rhine, say, where it flows deep in the valley and is at its most beautiful. Castles perched on top of what, at times, are steep cliffs are a reminder that even in the Middle Ages the Rhine was of great importance as a waterway. To this day barges chug up and down the river with their cargoes.
For those who are in more of a hurry the going is faster on the autobahn that runs alongside the river. But from Koblenz to Bingen you must take the Rheingold Route along the left bank and see twice as much of the landscape. Take the chairlift in Boppard and enjoy an even better view. Stay the night at Rheinfels Castle in St Goar with its view of the Loreley Rock on the other side. And stroll round the romantic wine village of Bacharach.

Visit Germany and let the Rheingold Route be your guide.







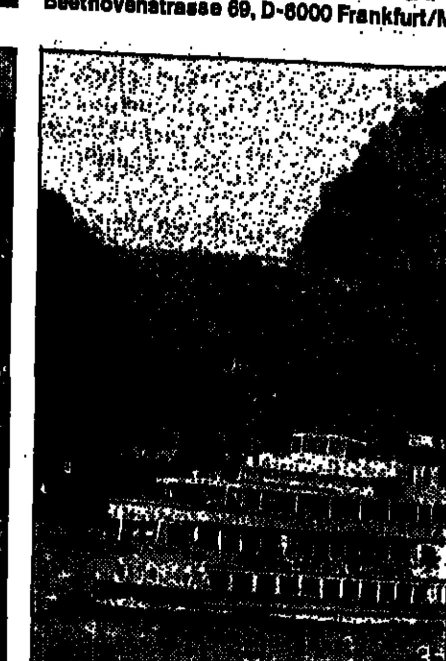


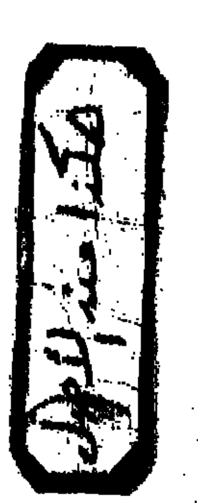
1 Bacharach
2 Oberwesel
3 The Loreley Rock
4 Boppard
5 Stolzenfels Castle



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The German Tribune

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Shamir in Bonn partly with EEC in mind

n spring 1981 *Stern* magazine concluded from an opinion poll that German sympathies were increasly being transferred from the Israe- o the Arabs.

wenty-four per cent, the Allensbach ket research institute claimed, ild sooner side with the Arabs; only per cent still preferred to side with Israelis. The remainder were unde- d.

The trend was doubtless due to grow- anxiety among West Germans about supplies; it will also have been due part to a number of political moves the Israelis.

They will clearly have included the cks levelled by Israel's Prime Minis- Menachem Begin, at the Bonn ncellor, Helmut Schmidt.

sraeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Sha- flew into Frankfurt for political ks with the new Bonn government on *nd 8 February*.

Bilateral issues played only a subor- ate role. German and Israeli diplo- s agree in assessing relations bet- en the two countries as good.

Tourist travel to Israel may have de- ned slightly but the Bonn Foreign Of- e says that when stock is taken the ance is well in the black.

On the Israeli side hopes of reaching eement on a date for the visit by the w Bonn Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, obably help to account for the opti- tic view taken.

Foreign Minister Shamir was ob- usly not going to use the convenient t that his visit more or less coincided h the 50th anniversary of Hitler's e-over of power to launch attacks on rman politicians.

The present Chancellor, Herr Kohl, deniably did not take part in the Se- nd World War, unlike his predeces- , Herr Schmidt.

But the term Palestinian is used as a litical irritant by the new Bonn go- nment (and its old Foreign Minister) just the same sense as it was by its edecessor.

In the past this has invariably been enough to prompt the Begin government to criticise Bonn in terms of historical parallels.

In a recent interview Chancellor Kohl stated in no uncertain terms his intention of visiting Israel, although he made no mention of a date.

Always assuming he is re-elected in the March general election Israel expects him to make his visit later this year.

In his statement Herr Kohl sought to strike a balance and rule out misinterpretations by adding that he planned to visit both Israel and Arab countries.

Mr Shamir's visit to Bonn was, in protocol terms, returning Herr Genscher's visit to Israel last June, although this time Israel will have been more interested in Herr Genscher as chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers.

Conversely, Herr Genscher was bound to make use of his Common Market role to make his points more convincingly and emphatically than he could have done solely as Bonn Foreign Minister.

Differences of opinion between Bonn and Jerusalem are indeed so substantial that Chancellor Kohl made no bones about them in the interview in question.

"We agree with Israel in the aim of ensuring its survival and security," he said, "but we are not agreed on all points of the practical policies needed to achieve this aim."

Bonn and the European Community are naturally upset most by the Lebanon problem, but Herr Genscher was no less emphatic in pointing out Bonn's continued dissatisfaction with Israeli settlement policies.

Israel readily admits that it is subject to US and European pressure on these issues, but it shows no signs of readiness to take up US proposals, let alone Arab plans.

The Israel view is that this political pressure is merely a certain degree of impatience in the West.

Herr Genscher sought on the EEC's behalf to impress on Mr Shamir that it was more than impatience, calling on Israel to play a constructive part in easing the situation and disengaging troops in the Lebanon conflict.

The prevailing view in Bonn is that there is no point in even taking up the Palestinian problem again until a solution has been found to all Middle East issues associated with the Lebanon.

But in his capacity as EEC chairman Herr Genscher could do no more than appeal to the Israelis, who have invariably taken a dim view of European peace bids in the past.

They feel they have been detrimental to the peace process in the Middle East, doing it no good at all, so Bonn saw no need to reiterate known viewpoints on the Palestinian question.

Enough plans had been tabled, it was argued, and Chancellor Kohl had already outlined the German view, based on the principles approved by the European Council, or EEC summit, in Venice in 1980.

These were that Israel was entitled to exist within secure and recognised frontiers, while the Palestinians were to be allowed the right of self-determination and all parties to the conflict were to renounce the use of force to settle their disputes.

Less mention is made by Bonn of the PLO nowadays, which is a striking token of consideration for the Israeli view, especially as the Venice resolution expressly referred to the PLO as a representative of the Palestinian people.

Mr Shamir took good care not to be too demonstrative in rejecting European demands and expectations with regard to Israel's attitude in the Lebanon.

Israel is seriously worried by the prospect of southward expansion of the EEC to include Spain and Portugal. As a producer of citrus fruits it is used to (and indeed relies on) exporting fruit to the Common Market countries.

Once Spain and Portugal are members of the European Community they will definitely have the edge over Israel. They already envisage a degree of protection for their citrus fruit output that would be entirely at Israel's expense.

Chancellor Kohl was not prepared to go any further than promise Mr Shamir to strike a reasonable balance of interests.

But Israel could feel it had done well if it were able to feel it could rely on Bonn to be a committed and influential advocate of its interests in the EEC.

Sten Martenson

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 February 1983)



Foreign Minister Shamir of Israel is welcomed to Bonn by President Carstens (right). (Photos: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

ARMAMENT — Page 2
George Bush spells out zero plus' option

Page 6
Deutsche BP narrowly averts closure

IGHT — Page 11
itler and the Holocaust – a historian's view

RRORISM — Page 15
Right-wing raids on US forces?

Chancellor Kohl in London

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher meet the Press after a working lunch at Chequers, where their talks were dominated by the arms issue.



■ DISARMAMENT

George Bush spells out 'zero plus' option

Christ und Welt / Rheinischer Merkur

Sending US Vice-President George Bush to Europe and Secretary of State George Shultz to the Far East was less a grand design than a hasty attempt at fence-mending.

The two Georges were sent on their respective missions in a bid to brush up the poor image of US foreign policy and prove a point to a doubting world.

It was that despite the confusion and contradictions of the Reagan administration President Reagan was still the unerringly strong Western leader he set out to be.

Mr Bush wisely chose not to tour Europe with a raised forefinger. His main aim was to listen to what the Europeans had to say, his hosts were briefed.

In Paris he planned to check how firmly based the Mitterand government's surprising Atlantic loyalty was on missile modernisation.

In Bonn he aimed to see how much strain West German opinion could withstand and how neutralist it was in reality.

Above, all, he proposed to sound out in Geneva how flexible the Soviet attitude might prove in the Eurostrategic dialogue.

But from the outset Mr Bush made it clear, especially to Bonn, that he was expecting a straight answer and had no intention of merely lending America's Atlantic allies a shoulder to cry on.

He was not prepared just to listen to their laments, and he was not in Europe just to accept messages but also to bring them. The messages he brought with him were clear enough, so much so that President Reagan's pathos-packed yet somewhat pedestrian open letter to the peoples of Europe seemed a mere minor obligation.

Mr Bush himself evidently attached greater importance to his major Berlin speech testifying to a new US flexibility while at the same time clearly outlining the limits of Washington's readiness to make concessions.

He did so more clearly than can have been to the liking of many a self-styled disarmament expert on this side of the Atlantic, pundits who would prefer to maintain a thick fog over the missile talks.

Despite Mr Reagan's letter Washington is now tending to part company with the zero option, which as Mr Bush put it could at best be a moral starting point.

The zero plus idea is gaining more and more support, envisaging a comparable number of comparable Eurostrategic weapons on both sides.

But the plus would need to be so honestly estimated and laid down in such detail that it benefited both sides and not just the Soviet Union.

Laying down the details would be far from easy because a number of crucial secondary conditions lurk behind the four main prerequisites sketched out by the US Vice-President.

The first is that there must be no Soviet missile monopoly. That means that any status quo is ruled out, including the Soviet superiority even the most conciliatory of proposals to be made so far by the Kremlin entails.

The second is that there must be no agreement by which, to quote M. Mitterrand, the incomparable is compared. That invalidates the sleight of hand by which Moscow would like to set its SS-20 systems off against British and French nuclear forces designed for entirely different purposes.

It rules out the attempt to allow the West to deploy slow Cruise missiles if it dispenses with Pershing 2s, in return for which the Russians will be allowed to retain their SS-20s.

Last but not least, it invalidates any attempt to make the Soviet Union scrap only obsolete devices.

The third is that there must be no withdrawal behind any artificial line. That means the United States takes a dim view of proposals for a nuclear-free zone in Europe.

Such proposals are currently going the rounds yet again, but as always the West would be the loser for obvious geographical reasons.

It also means the proposal for a Soviet missile withdrawal to beyond the Urals is unacceptable to the United States.

It is not just that from there the missiles could continue to threaten Europe at any time. Washington would like to avoid a transfer of Soviet missile potential to the Far East, where it could be aimed at China and Japan.

There Secretary of State George Shultz was engaged in an equally tricky mission needing coordination with Mr Bush's tour of Europe.

The fourth is that there must be no disarmament or arms limitation agreement without reciprocal inspection and control provisions.

The framework thus outlined by Vice-President Bush is thus closely drawn, but it does leave room for manoeuvre and is not a covert reversion to the utopian zero option as East Bloc propagandists and their sidekicks in the West rushed to suggest.

European critics, both bona fide and false disarmament experts, will have to restore order to their own minds at last.

They rightly call on America to clearly define its confused and confusing foreign policy yet are appalled when a definition is given that is less than entirely in keeping with what they would like.

This is sheer schizophrenia. They call for consolidation of the Western alliance on the one hand while complaining about the pact being undermined on the other when America draws up guidelines that are not easily palatable.

It is also total hypocrisy. The Atlantic alliance is capable of regaining a chance of survival, but not by a gutless game of hide and seek to avoid looking unpleasant East-West truths in the face.

What is called for is clear determination on the part of a leading power to engage in politics as the art of the possible to the last moment.

But it must allow itself neither to be unduly intimidated by popular but fleeting currents of opinion nor to be confused by the misleading new mathematics of Soviet politicians.

Hans O. Staub

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 4 February 1983)

Reagan offer makes summit less likely than ever

US Vice-President George Bush outlined in a wide range of talks in Bonn and Berlin the new American policy for the Geneva disarmament talks.

As he did so the small print was being worked out at top speed in Washington.

The Americans still consider the zero option to be the only conceivable moral solution, and thus the best solution, in connection with medium-range missiles in Europe.

In would entail a total withdrawal of all Soviet missiles aimed at targets in Western Europe, in return for which the United States would dispense with missile modernisation.

At the same time Washington would be prepared to come to terms at as low a level as possible, which means a partial withdrawal of Soviet medium-range missiles and partial missile modernisation by the Americans.

That is the tenor of what is going the rounds behind the scenes. But in public Mr Bush made a speech in Berlin that was entirely in keeping with President Reagan's strategy of being tough and persistent.

He proclaimed the US desire for peace and more than called the Soviet desire for peace into question, levelling massive accusations at Moscow.

The tenor of his speech made the atmosphere even more electric when, at the end of his address, delivered in a West Berlin hotel, he pulled out of his breast pocket an open letter to European public opinion penned by President Reagan.

In it Mr Reagan said he was prepared to meet the Soviet leader, Mr Andropov, at any time and at any place he wished. There was no mention of the thorough preparations and reasonable prospects of success Washington had previously insisted on.

The US President had indeed laid down even tougher conditions, making the by no means likely eventuality of a summit conference even less probable.

To all intents and purposes a meeting between the world's two most powerful men was thus virtually ruled out for the foreseeable future.

By the terms of the open letter the meeting between Mr Reagan and Mr Andropov was to serve the sole purpose of signing a treaty scrapping all land-based medium-range missiles, which was regarded by US diplomats as an improved version of the zero option.

Little imagination is required to assume that whatever the Soviet Union might want, terms such as these are definitely not on.

The West's sea-based medium-range missiles, on board nuclear submarines, for instance, weigh no less heavily on Moscow than its land-based ones.

After Mr Bush's Bonn and Berlin visits it remains to be seen whether President Reagan's bid to regain the initiative in dealings with the Russians will succeed.

Peter W. Schroeder

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 February 1983)

Russia doe[s] not reject US offer

Fair blows the from Mosco[w] though with intermittent col[d] The Soviet reply to President R[eagan's] open letter cannot, despite its [...] disparagement, be taken as a [...] summit meeting.

If anything, the opposite is th[e] The Soviet Union has been stro[ngly in] favour of a superpower summi[t] since President Reagan assumed [...]

Insistence on a direct dialog[ue with] the other superpower has been a [...] of Soviet policy for some time.

Both sides are nonetheless [...] warily, like cats pawing round [...] meal, because neither wants to sh[ow the] other how keen it really is on a m[eeting.]

Being too keen could too rea[dily be] interpreted as a sign of weakness [...] gave the other side the edge.

For the Soviet Union summit [diplo]macy with the United States [...] an international image tarnished [by ex]pansionism in Afghanistan and [...]nary measures imposed on Poland.

For Mr Reagan, who is coming [under] increasingly heavy domestic p[ressure,] the idea of commanding atten[tion by] holding a meeting with the Sov[iet lea]der just before the next Pres[idential] election campaign gets under [way is] bound to hold its attraction.

Both could use summit diplo[macy to] demonstrate to Western Europe, [...] good graces they are eager to [...] Washington as an ally, Moscow [...] of wielding influence, how s[...] they take their disarmament [...]tions.

So America and Russia are bo[und to] be tempted to make their own [...] out to be sweet reason and a [...] basis for negotiations and treaties.

By the same token they will be [...]ed to accuse each other of bei[ng des]tructive and inflexible.

The play is then acted out, w[ith] theatrical effects, to an asto[nished] public in East and West, the cont[ent of] proposals seeming to be less imp[ortant] than how they are received b[y the] public.

In this context the Russians h[ave of] late proved more successful th[an Mr] Reagan, whose image in Western [Eur]ope is not favourable to any mo[ve he] might make.

It goes without saying that a re[sump]tion of the East-West dialogue [can] only be welcomed, but a summit [meet]ing can only be the consequence [...] the wellspring, of an improvement [in bi]lateral ties between Moscow and [Wash]ington.

Peter Sei[...]

(Bremer Nachrichten, 3 Febru[ary 1983])

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■ GENERAL ELECTION

Kohl would be in trouble if court ruled against him

[T]he general election campaign is in full swing even though it is still un[cer]tain whether elections will be held.

Uncertainty will persist until the [Con]stitutional Court rules on the suit [fil]ed by four MPs who contend that the [di]ssolution of the Bundestag was un[con]stitutional.

Chancellor Kohl stands to lose most. [W]as he more than any of the other politicians who advocated the ques[tion]able procedure that led to the dissol[uti]on of parliament following his engi[nee]red defeat in a confidence vote in a [bid] to bring about new elections.

[It] will therefore be he who will have [to f]oot the political bill should the stra[teg]m backfire.

[T]he court has various options. It [cou]ld approve Herr Kohl's manoeuvre [as r]ight. That would of course suit him [bes]t; but it is the most unlikely out[com]e.

Most experts President Carstens con[sult]ed on the issue consider Kohl's way [of b]ringing about new elections uncon[stit]utional; even Justice Minister Hans Engelhard (FDP) gives the suing MPs a good chance of success.

The Constitutional Court could also follow the pattern of its ruling on the Basic Treaty with East Germany and let Kohl's and Carstens' interpretation of the Constitution pass, though not unconditionally but with several strings attached.

This would mean the go-ahead for the general election but the Bundestag the government and the President would have their knuckles rapped and would have to face severe consequences in case of a repeat performance.

The third possibility, a clear no to elections would be a fiasco for Kohl.

Immediately after the FDP switched coalition partners, unseating Helmut Schmidt and bringing Helmut Kohl to power, the new Chancellor guaranteed new elections.

As he was bent on campaigning as a sitting Chancellor he shirked the obvious and uncomplicated approach, resignation.

His detour via the engineered vote of no confidence on 17 December could now take him up a blind alley.

If the promised election cannot be held after all, Kohl will stand accused of having deceived the public, a somewhat tricky situation for a party boss whose team has for weeks accused other politicians of lying and fraud.

His challenger, Hans-Jochen Vogel, has already called on him to resign should this happen and Kohl would find it hard not to do so under the circumstances.

There would, of course, also be considerable confusion in the Bundestag itself.

The conservatives would, virtually from one day to the next, need a new nominee for the Chancellorship; and considering the rivalries between CDU and CSU they would be hard pressed to pull one out of a hat.

To make matters even more complicated, whoever they nominate would also have to be acceptable to the FDP. The result could well be a CDU or SPD minority government.

If Kohl opted to remain in office he would be faced with a shambles. Arguing that he went out of his way to keep his promise of new elections and that he had no choice but to bow to the Constitutional Court ruling would hold little water.

Detractors would argue that he knew the risks from the very beginning and that there was no excuse for bending the Constitution for purely tactical reasons.

Another wide open question is the support Kohl would receive from the parties in his coalition in the period until normal elections in 1984.

The new coalition has deliberately omitted dealing with numerous controversial issues that would have to be dealt with during this legislative period should the general elections not be held and the dissolution of the Bundestag be reversed.

As it is Helmut Kohl, Franz Josef Strauss and Hans-Dietrich Genscher are not on the same wavelength on the Nato missiles issue.

The same applies to *Ostpolitik* and *Deutschlandpolitik*, in which the CSU has its own ideas.

Then there is the problem of surtax for higher earners which Herr Kohl wants to be non-repayable while the FDP insists it be regarded as a compulsory loan and hence repayable.

The safe majority Kohl still had when he posed the 17 December confidence question could easily crumble in the next two years.

But even should Kohl be spared a major debacle, he is unlikely to come out of the Constitutional Court dispute unscathed.

Even a half-hearted go-ahead from the justices would not entirely clear him of the image of a man who has tried to tamper with the Constitution.

A reprimand by the bench not to try the confidence vote manipulation a second time, or even a dissenting minority in an otherwise positive ruling for Kohl, would provide the Opposition with plenty of ammunition in the current campaign, which would hardly enhance the conservatives' election prospects.

Kohl's tactics have already turned out to be a boomerang in one respect. Had he called for immediate new elections last year the conservatives would almost certainly have gained an absolute majority.

The FDP would have stood no chance of being returned to parliament and the SPD was in disarray at the time, as Franz Josef Strauss said the other day. Herr Kohl has since lost the edge he had in October.

Joachim Hauck

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 3 February 1983)

Political parties line up

[A]part from the six parties already in the Bundestag or the state assem[bl]ies, the electoral commission has now [ad]mitted 12 additional parties and [gro]upings to stand in the general elec[tio]n.

They include the Communists (KPD) [an]d the extreme right-wing National [D]emocrats (NPD).

[B]ut their actual participation in the [po]lling will depend on their ability to [de]liver signatures of support by 31 Ja[nua]ry. They need a 100,000th of the eli[gib]le voters for each state ticket, or a [m]aximum 2,000.

Chief election commissioner Franz [K]oppenstedt has formally announced [th]at SPD, CDU, FDP, CSU, the Alter[nat]ive ticket of Berlin and the Greens [are] in any event recognised contestants [be]cause they have held a minimum of [five] seats in state assemblies since the [las]t elections.

The Green-Alternative ticket (GAL), [wh]ich is represented in the Hamburg le[gis]lature, is not deemed to be a political [par]ty because it represents a medley of [wi]dely varying political aims.

But it is not interested in standing in [the] general election.

The commission is chaired by Krop[pen]stedt and consists of two CDU and [tw]o SPD members, and one member [ea]ch from the CSU and the FDP.

It has had to rule on a total of 23 ap[pli]cations by small and miniature group[ing]s that wanted to be recognised as [pol]itical parties and take part in the ge[ner]al election.

Eleven were rejected because they [di]d not meet the conditions laid down [in t]he laws governing political parties.

Among those recognised were, apart [fro]m KPD and NPD, the Christian Ba[va]rian People's Party (CBV), the KPD/[M]L (Marxists/Leninists), the Interna[tio]nal World Peace Party (IWP), the In[de]pendent Social Democrats (USD), [the] Federation of West German Com[mu]nists (BWK), the European Labour [Par]ty (EAP), the Pensioners' Party [(R]D), the German Family Party, the [Eco]logical-Democratic Party (ÖDP) [an]d the Cosmopolitan Liberal Action [(K]LA).

dpa

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 28 January 1983)

FDP holds election congress

No party has taken as much trouble hammering out a campaign platform as the FDP.

The CDU and CSU national committees only rubber-stamped what the party bosses drafted in the way of mellifluous and non-committal basic policy statements.

The SPD delegates only met to demonstrate unity in adopting their platform.

The FDP, on the other hand, went into the details of their programme as if they had to chart their party's course forever.

At all events that was the impression gained at the Liberals' campaign congress in Freiburg late in January.

This particular congress had to fulfill a number of functions. For one thing, it was the first major meeting after the Berlin congress in November that had dealt with dissension within the party following the switch of coalition partners.

The Freiburg get-together was also the first meeting after the wave of resignations from the party ebbed. It marked the kick-off for the FDP campaign.

The delegates and above all the top party leadership managed to demonstrate in Freiburg that the wounds the FDP sustained as a result of the shift have formed scar tissue even if they have not healed.

The party also succeeded in developing a profile of its own that distinguishes it from its political opponents.

In view of the meeting's decision to stick with the party's present coalition with the conservatives it was absurd for the leadership to stress that nobody could accuse the party of having shifted to the right.

It was also ridiculous to maintain that the FDP has kicked the CDU in the shin on some major issues.

It was equally ludicrous to say that what distinguished the FDP from the SPD was minor by comparison and that the FDP was girding itself with its decisions primarily against its new coalition partner.

The FDP is now as worried about being absorbed by the right wing of the conservatives as it previously was about being drawn into the vortex of a declining SPD.

As impressive as parts of the Liberal platform might be, including its stance against subjecting conscientious objectors to hearings, against stopping demonstrators from covering their faces to avoid being identified and against the construction of the Main-Danube Canal along with their insistence that the surtax for higher earners be repayable and that the Interior portfolio be in the FDP's hands again, they are a liability that could be a burden in future.

Most undecided voters the FDP is wooing are likely to be indifferent to the party's platform. What will guide them in casting their votes will be such considerations as: better three than two parties in parliament, Genscher rather than Strauss at the Foreign Ministry, and generally a desire to retain the FDP as a political force in national politics.

What matters to the members of the party, who have to be motivated not only for the campaign but for the post-election time as well, is of course the question as to what will eventually become of the platform.

They will keep a keen eye on how much of it will enter the coalition agreement and be evident in future government work.

For them, it is anything but encouraging to know that the FDP would have to capture at least ten per cent of the popular vote and that the conservatives would have to suffer considerable losses for the most important of these platform items to be implemented.

The FDP cliché that the party has been declared dead many times before and was still alive and kicking is no guarantee of success in the forthcoming election nor will it permit the party to take it easy once it has taken the five per cent hurdle (needed for representation in parliament).

The biggest effort will have to be made after the election has been weathered because it is then that the party will have to prove its ability not only to formulate but to implement Liberal policies.

This implementation issue actually dominated the congress. This is a question that concerns above all the personal future of party chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

He will only be able to put an end to the current discussion about his successor if he adopts a more assertive stance, not only as Foreign Minister but also as party leader.

Ada Brandes

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 January 1983)

■ PROFILE

Walter Wallmann, a mayor who has made people feel proud of Frankfurt

Walter Wallmann was re-elected mayor of Frankfurt for a six-year term almost as a matter of course. It was a far cry from the trouble associated with the mayoralty in the past.

Christian Democrat Wallmann has survived his first six years in surprisingly good shape. He runs the city and the local CDU in a manner the SPD complains is reminiscent of enlightened absolutism.

Previous Social Democratic mayors were worn out in constant skirmishes with the SPD. The last word on an issue was spoken by the SPD, either the local party or the party group in the city council.

Herr Wallmann claims not to remember when he last attended a meeting of the CDU council group. He would not agree that the mayor's job is a killer, but he does feel mayor of Frankfurt is one of the toughest assignments in the country.

Unlike in North Rhine-Westphalia, say, the mayor of Frankfurt is both the city's external representative and its administrative head.

His staff need keeping an eye on. Memorable speeches need to be made in the city's Paulskirche. Suburban soccer clubs need to be given a word of encouragement when relegation is imminent.

City's image catastrophic

It is all part of a tough job as *Oberbürgermeister.* Frankfurt, population 630,000, may only be the sixth-largest city in the country but it arguably faces the toughest problems.

It lies at the centre of a metropolitan area with a population of one and a half million, an area with an impressive economic performance and a major transport centre.

It long ran the risk of being a mere powerhouse, with an international airport, an impressive road network, towering skyscrapers and fewer and fewer people.

Exaggerated planning policies depopulated entire areas. Demonstrations were tougher and more frequent than anywhere else.

Frankfurt was where the first squatters moved into an empty house in Germany. Foreigners made up more than 20 per cent of the population. The city's image was catastrophic.

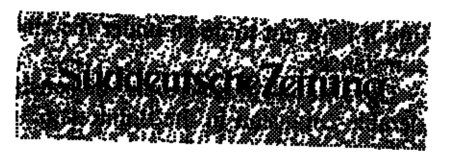
There have been many changes for the better during Walter Wallmann's first six years as mayor, although he cannot claim personal credit for them all.

The city has been in the throes of reconstruction for nearly 20 years. It is now nearing completion.

West Berlin has taken over as the most frequently-cited example of how *not* to set about town planning, and the media have lost interest in what used to be dubbed Krankfurt (krank means sick) or Mainhattan.

Frankfurt now boasts the rebuilt Alte Oper, the Rebstockbad, a first-rate swimming baths, and a row of historic houses under reconstruction on the city-centre Römerberg.

Architects of international standing are planning new museums and many



local people feel prouder of their city than they used to do.

Herr Wallmann has succeeded in getting people to identify themselves with their city again even if he has arguably done so by pressing ahead with plans already drawn up by the Social Democrats.

Voters have given him the credit. In 1981 the Christian Democrats polled 54.2 per cent, an incredible performance in what once was known as Red Frankfurt.

Wallmann feels that the city as a life style and form of settlement will only have a future as long as it retains points of identification and can convey a sense of warmth and self-esteem.

He intensely dislikes the Greens', or environmentalists', views on decentralisation. He is put off by their hostility toward city life.

The Social Democrats say his ideas are expensive. They cost a packet, the SPD argues, saying he is to blame.

Martin Wentz, an up-and-coming young SPD man, says Herr Wallmann has laid out Persian carpets for the city centre. He criticises Mayor Wallmann's predilection for pomp and circumstance.

He says he resembles a Renaissance prince in his determination to keep up appearances. Herr Wentz says what town planning today must do is improve living conditions in the individual suburbs.

After allowances have been made for the party-political character of such accusations they still retain a grain of truth.

The area around the main railway station is in a state of progressive urban decline. Living conditions in many parts of the city are most unsatisfactory.

The financial position of what, potentially, is such a rich city has taken a drastic turn for the worse.

Enormous new debts incurred partly to pay for many prestige projects would have led to a public outcry in the days when the city was run by Social Democrats.

Mayor Wallmann gets away with it, arguing that the debts amount to a mere six per cent of the city's investment programme, which is, after all, an economic booster package.

Not for nothing has the SPD failed for the past six years to come up with any bright ideas on how to persuade voters to send Herr Wallmann packing.

When he took over as mayor in 1977, having previously served as Bundestag MP for Marburg, the Social Democrats belittled him as a country bumpkin with nationalist leanings.

But they soon had to swallow hard. In those days Herr Wallmann was feared as a diehard right-winger (allegedly even further to the right than Alfred Dregger, but more intelligent). He proved more than a match for the tasks he faced in Frankfurt.

Despite an absolute CDU majority in the city council he retained several SPD men as executive officers. He established a reputation as mayor of Frankfurt as a whole and pursued a liberal arts policy.

Social and Free Democrats were amazed when a man like Jürgen Habermas, the New Left sociologist, thanked Mayor Wallmann for coming to his aid in the face of unwarranted allegations.

Herr Wallmann says there has been no change in his fundamentally conservative outlook, but the job has made its mark on him.

He is no longer given to lashing out verbally in the way he used to do in the Hesse CDU in the late-1960s and 1970s.

He now calls for an intensification of the dialogue between the CDU, both locally and nationally, and the intellectuals.

In cases of doubt, he says, he would always decide in favour of freedom of the arts.

Reminded of local CDU opposition to civic honours for Anna Seghers in Mainz and Heinrich Böll in Cologne, he says the CDU in these cities must be out of its mind.

With his personal charm, strategic sense and publicity-consciousness Walter Wallmann is now considered one of the most highly-rated mayors in the country.

Helmut Kohl would have welcomed him as a member of the Bonn Cabinet,

Walter Wallmann

(Photo: S...

while the Frankfurt SPD not ... noted, somewhat fatalistically, ... seemed unlikely to win election ... until Wallmann moved to anoth...

But the only way that could ... as the situation stands, would be ... ger Börner were to lose power in ... assembly poll and Wallmann ... take over from the Social Dem... Prime Minister of Hesse.

Immediately after the setback ... ed by the Hesse CDU at the ... September Alfred Dregger ... down and had Wallmann ap... state chairman of the party.

That automatically meant he ... CDU's choice for state Premie... mann was riled, not only by the ... poor election perfomance but ... cause he had been press-ganged ... job he had never relished.

He frankly admits he has ... particularly keen on becoming ... Minister of Hesse. Herr Dreg... him on the spot in much the sa... in 1976 when the CDU was on th... out for a man to stand as m... Frankfurt.

He has settled down as may... emotionally adjusted himself ... idea, but he is still keenly inter... major issues of domestic and for... fairs.

He can talk about them for ... forgetting municipal details.

But he feels that now he has b... trusted by the State CDU with ch... ing Herr Börner he must do all ... to oust the Social Democrats in ... as well as Frankfurt.

The CDU's prospects of gai... absolute majority in the state ... are none too good, however. In ... vourable conditions the Christia... ocrats could even lose votes ne... round.

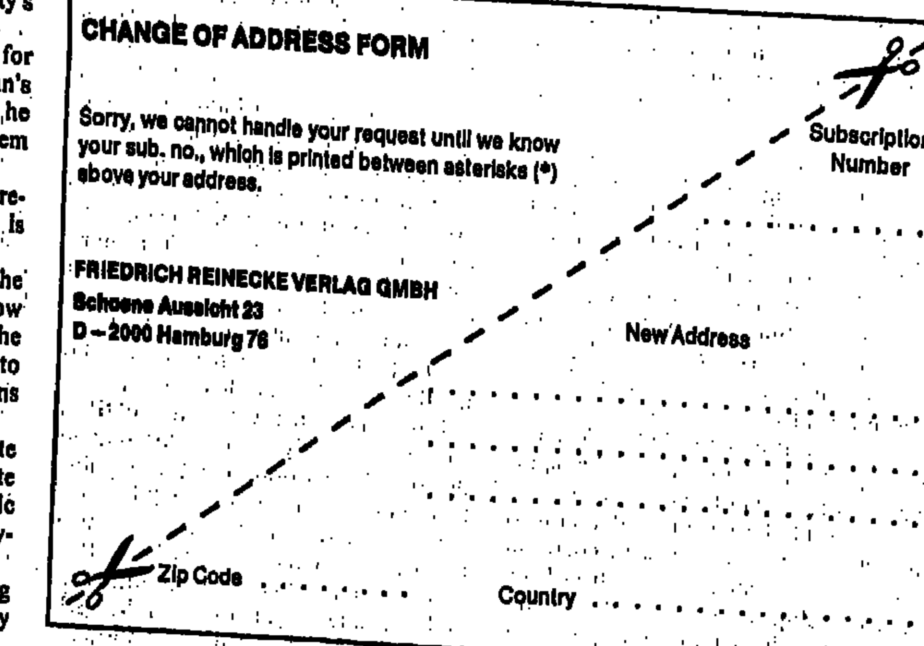
Walter Wallmann would then ... loser, but he isn't yet and it may ... some time before the danger aris...

Hesse's SPD certainly feels he ... extremely dangerous challenge ... much more effective than Alfred ... ger. It is well aware of his voter ... to middle-of-the-road opinion ... the professionalism that marks his ... word and gesture.

Herr Wallmann, possibly tak... possibility of future slips into ac... is curently making a point of ... cool, calm and collected.

He sees politics as potentially ... tive and says he intends to retire ... politics at 55 (he is now 50). He ... then welcome a post as a univers... fessor.

Alexander Hoff...
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 Janua...)



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LABOUR

Economists outline two-pronged attack on unemployment at Mannheim

...n his opening address at a Mannheim University symposium on Economic ...olicy in the Federal Republic of Ger...any Professor Horst Siebert quoted ...orge Bernard Shaw as having once ... that if you laid all the economists ... the world end to end you still ...uldn't reach a conclusion.

...istory has borne him out a thou...fold. Knowing this, journalists at... economists' gatherings with a ...ch of scepticism.

By the same token, they also know ...t John Maynard Keynes was right ...en he said: "Practitioners who re...d themselves as being entirely free ...m intellectual influences are usually ...e slaves of some long-dead econo...ist."

It might be amusing to visualise what ...r economic policy-makers would do ... they were to become slaves of the ...conomists gathered in Mannheim for the debate. There, the economists offer... a helping hand to the practitioners.

The question is, should the policy-...akers accept the hand when it comes ...o the crux of the problem, unemploy...ent?

Professor Hans Karl Schneider des...ibed what Keynes had to say about ...nemployment as an "intricate struc...ure of theories with many outbuildings in which it is hard to find one's way.

"Even *so,* the Keynes structure is ...elpful in arriving at a diagnosis even ...day."

Keynesian theories have various ex...lanations for involuntary joblessness, ...mong them excessive wages in real ...rms that even total competition and ...exible prices cannot remedy through ...arket forces alone.

Another element is lack of demand ...ansferred to the labour market.

Professor Schneider sees the various diagnoses of Keynesianism as being linked by a therapy of demand-steering mechanisms augmented by an incomes ...olicy that ensure price and wage rela...ons that are compatible with full em...loyment and monetary stability.

Shaw would have been surprised at ...e extent of common ground in Mann...im had he attended.

For instances nobody opposed the ...tral thesis put forward by Otmar Iss... of Würzburg, who said: "It was ...ongly conceived and, in its practical ...plication, abused demand steering ...t led us into the cul-de-sac of stagfla...on."

Gerhard Fels, of Kiel, elaborated, ...ying that Bonn's predominantly ...mand-side economic policy in 1978 ...d 1979 was responsible for high ...uctural budgetary deficits.

These came about when, under pres...ure from the 1978 Bonn economic ...mmit, the government acted against ...etter knowledge and upped spending ... an effort to impart impulses to the ...onomy so that Germany would once ...ore play the role of locomotive.

He said: "Had we at that time slash... income tax we would have achieved ...e same stimulating effect."

The 1981 income tax reduction that ...s introduced due to the increasingly ...eep progression from one bracket to ...other and led to a worsening of the

DIE ZEIT

deficit could have been waived had that been done.

The outcome of this wrong move was that "public sector deficits reached proportions at the beginning of the 1980s that made a consolidation mandatory at the very moment when the economy staggered under the impact of the second oil shock and the current account showed an unprecedented deficit."

Schneider essentially goes along with Fels. He does not regard the oil shock as the main reason for the unemployment which he attributes to wrong responses to the shock.

"Instead of reducing our demands on the GNP these demands were kept at the same high level and, in some instances, even increased.

"High wages in real terms and equally high social security costs along with the sophisticated labour and social affairs legislation have made labour excessively expensive, thus retarding necessary adjustments.

"Some unprofitable and obsolete production facilities have been pared down or scrapped. Established industrial areas have lost their importance, giving free rein to the negative forces of structural change.

"But no positive effects as a result of new jobs in profitable old production facilities engaged in making new products at new sites ensued."

How can our economic policy get out of this self-inflicted crisis?

Said Issing: "The supply-side approach is trying to do exactly this. The extreme variety of it as practised in the USA calls for total deregulation of demand while the 'moderates' hold that supply-side and demand measures must be coordinated."

This is a point at which the views of Issing and Schneider meet. Schneider also calls for a dual strategy.

As he sees it, a supply-side policy must remove the obstacles hampering necessary structural adjustments, and this makes it essentially a system policy: market economy steering mechanisms instead of government intervention.

The business community must become more flexible and administrative obstacles must be removed; growth impulses must be boosted through deregulation; the wage structure must be made less rigid to coincide with productivity differences in branches of industry and regions.

Supplementary Keynesian elements would then have the function of moderating quantitative restrictions.

There seems to be something new in the offing here that goes under the cumbersome heading Theory of Quantity Rationing Balances.

The aim of this theory is to provide new insights into an economic world with an inexorably growing wage and price rigidity and increasing inflexibility.

The pivotal point of this theory is: Wrong prices and wages, unless swiftly corrected, can lead to quantity restrictions in the sale of goods (sales slump) and to flagging demand for labour (unemployment).

When this happens, wage and price adjustments alone are no longer enough to restore full employment.

To prevent a cumulative downward trend, there must be an expansive fiscal policy buttressed by a monetary policy that will boost demand, and that at the earliest possible stage.

But if anything is to be gained, state demand must not supplant private demand.

What matters, Schneider said, is to convince the private sector that the necessary economic measures will in the long run boost tax revenues.

This means that taxation rates will not have to go up and tax relief will result in the long term.

Schneider's conclusion: "A Keynesian demand-boosting policy of this kind can evidently be regarded as part of a supply-side economic policy."

It is no coincidence that some of the papers read in Mannheim came from people who had left the ivory tower of economics to join the political arena.

Fels was, and Schneider is, a member of the Council of Economic Advisers to the Bonn governement.

Bonn policy-makers would be well advised to become "slaves" of economists not yet dead.

Rudolf Herlt
(Die Zeit, 4 February 1983)

Management opposes working less in Munich

These days it is not only the Bonn coalition parties that provide the public with the spectacle of conflicting pronouncements and decisions.

The same applies to those who vociferously deplore this because they consider themselves the victims.

Remembering the business community's complaints about state interference in many areas, it must come as a surprise that these very people now suddenly feel themselves abandoned by the very policy-makers whom they kept telling to keep their hands off.

Speaking at the Bavarian Management Congress in Munich, Employers Association President Otto Esser (and a number of other speakers) lamented that politicians have left them in the lurch on shorter working times (both working weeks and working lives).

He said politicians showed a lack of responsibility when insisting that this crucial issue be dealt with through collective bargaining.

This naturally calls for a couple of questions. For instance, have changes in working times not always been a matter to be worked out by the parties to collective bargaining?

What exactly are the politicians expected to do here? Are they to ban shorter working times by decree?

But even apart from this incomprehensible call for the state, the discus-

Süddeutsche Zeitung

sion of the issue at the Munich congress showed little rhyme or reason.

The assurances by employers that they are prepared to discuss the matter were always followed by their stressing familiar attitudes: perhaps a bit more part-time work; job-sharing is also worth pondering; but any kind of shorter working times is out of the question.

The only solution the employers have to offer to the problem of joblessness is pay moderation, improved operating profits and more investement, all of which are supposed to amount to more jobs.

Though the strategy is right in principle, it is one-sided, and those propounding it should at least have contradicted the president of the Federal Labour Office, Josef Stingl, who put the following facts and theses up for discussion.

According to latest Labour Office figures, we would need a growth rate of at least four per cent until 1990 to keep the number of jobless at its present level.

In the same breath, Stingl added that such growth rates were unlikely. The contention remained unopposed.

If Stingl is right, this means that the position on the labour market will of necessity deteriorate still further if overall conditions, including working times, remain the same.

The very fact that nobody seemed able to contradict this outlook should have driven the participants in the meeting into the camp of the protagonists of shorter working times.

But the majority of the business representatives who attended, especially officials of business organisations, did not seem to be particularly worried about the prospect of further millions out of work, nothwithstanding their assurances to the contrary.

This raises the question as to how long the public will put up with industry's demands for continued pay cuts (in real terms) with deteriorating labour market conditions and its continued opposition to shorter working times.

Based on past experience, Josef Stingl put his finger on the wound when he said that although they were predictable, little was being done to counter developments that were in store.

He conceded that shorter working times were no cure-all, especially if they could not be achieved without extra cost.

But he also said that anybody who rejected them as adamantly as the business community did today would one day find himself answerable to the swelling legions of jobless.

The trade unions would also be answerable if they did not desist from imposing ever new costs on industry.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 January 1983)



■ OIL

Deutsche BP narrowly averts closure

The Hamburg head office of the ailing Deutsche BP, still the dominant force on Germany's oil market, is extremely close-mouthed when it comes to information.

All that has been forthcoming lately is chief executive Hellmuth Buddenberg's statement that BP would remain on the market.

Rescue plans are clearly being hammered out behind closed doors.

Deutsche BP, on the verge of insolvency, was saved in the nick of time by a DM600m cash boost by its British parent company, which has problems of its own.

Given the German company's DM900m trading losses in 1982, Buddenberg would hardly have had any choice but to file insolvency proceedings had the parent company not jumped into the breach.

It appears that the London head office had already been considering a quiet withdrawal from the market for its German subsidiary but shelved these plans in a last-minute decision.

BP's competitors are not doing too well either, having been hit by a severe structural crisis in the wake of the second world-wide oil crisis in 1979/80.

Following steep oil price increases by Opec, the Western consumer nations remembered a long-forgotten virtue, thrift.

German consumers, and industry in particular, learned their lesson faster than the multinational oil giants had expected. This, together with the recession, led to drastic cutbacks in oil consumption.

It has dropped by about 25 per cent since 1980 and now stands at about 102 million tons a year. Oil sales are likely to have declined still further to about 100 million tons in 1982.

Many Opec countries now find it difficult to sell their oil except at discount rates. The North Sea has become West Germany's most important supplier of crude.

Imports from the Opec countries have gone down correspondingly, from 90 per cent in the mid-1970s to 64.2 per cent now.

Consumption of light heating oil has gone down particularly steeply. Last year's sales, 33.5 million tons, were down to the level of 1968.

Since the first oil shock in 1973 demand for light heating oil has dropped more than 33 per cent; and the decline in heavy heating oil consumption (used primarily in industry and by power stations) went down even further.

Here, consumption was halved to about 14 million tons, partly due to the shift towards nuclear energy.

The consequences of this for the oil business were disastrous. Declining sales led to a refinery crisis as the worldwide oil glut made prices go down.

Consumer thrift has been rewarded in the form of declining automotive fuel and domestic oil prices and this in turn has left the multinational oil giants in serious straits.

The net result has been losses in the billions: DM5.5bn in 1981 and DM4.5bn to DM5bn in 1982.

The only cure now is a drastic slimming process in all sectors of the oil business: refining capacities, the marketing setup and administration, all of which will have to be geared to lower levels of consumption.

Excessive production capacities are the most pressing problem now. Even though refining capacities to the tune of 17.4 millions tons have already been shut down, the remaining capacity of 126 million tons is still excessive.

1982 sales were only 100 million tons and many refineries operated at their technical minimum of 50 per cent of capacity.

The national average was 56.4 per cent of capacity as against 57.1 per cent a year earlier. (Normally, refineries operate at 85 per cent of capacity.)

BP is planning to scrap its sophisticated Dinslaken refinery in March, thus reducing the oil industry's production capacity by another 6 million tons.

But shutting down idle capacities is not enough because not only has demand gone down; the structure of remaining demand has changed, making many older refineries obsolete.

Skyrocketing prices, especially for heating oil, have led to a lowering of thermostats or a switch to other forms of energy. But the chemical industry and road traffic continue to depend on oil.

As a result, demand for light products like petrol and liquid gas is likely to go up while consumption of heating oil will drop still further.

This will confront the multinationals with additional problems. Already plagued by heavy losses, they will now have to invest huge sums in the conversion of refineries or the new construc-

Hannoversche Allgemeine

tion of plants that will convert now unsaleable heavy oil into automotive fuel.

But such investments become increasingly risky as the Opec countries build their own refineries in a bid to flood Western markets with finished products.

Meanwhile, the dismantling of refineries will continue, and many a job will be lost in the process. Some of the oil companies could go out of business.

It is no coincidence that BP has been worse hit that the others, and Herr Buddenberg himself must accept much of the blame.

In summer 1978 when the change in the oil market was already in the offing, he was still expanding and in the course of this expansion made his famous Veba deal.

Apart from paying DM800m for the Gelsenberg AG (through which BP gained access to the coal and gas business) Buddenberg also bought equities in the Speyer and Ingolstadt refineries.

BP also bought about 1,000 Fanal filling stations and the heating oil trading company Stinnes-Stromeyer. This made BP Germany's biggest oil company.

But the ambition to head the list is now backfiring: BP's slimming cure will have to be more radical than those of Shell and Esso.

BP's refining capacity will be reduced from an original 24 million tons to 8 million tons. The company intends to concentrate more on trade than on production.

Shell and Esso, on the other hand, will continue to operate their refineries with capacities of 14 and 18.5 million tons respectively.

BP's motto for the future is: Hands off any business that could result in losses.

The filling station network of now 3,200 stations is to be thinned out to ensure profitability.

But the Hamburg head office will also revamp its operations resulting in the loss of 300 jobs. However, the company wants to prevent dismissals (for the moment anyway) by making use of natural staff fluctuation and encouraging early retirement.

BP hopes that the rehabilitation blueprint will result in annual savings of DM700m to DM900m.

It seems a foregone conclusion that Buddenberg will no longer be the chief executive once the slimming process has been completed. In fact, it is far from certain that BP will remain in the market.

But its big competitors, Shell, Esso and Texaco, are sure to survive. Their executives now boast that they were much quicker to see the straws in the wind.

Esso and Shell expect to be over the hump by the end of 1984, by which time Esso hopes to have pared down its present payroll of about 3,600 by 550 — primarily through early retirement at the age of 55. This is expected to reduce operating costs by about DM150m.

Shell's blueprint is similar. The fact that Shell and Esso are weathering the crisis better than their competitors is also due to their being able to fall back on local oil and gasfields that became lucrative when the oil price exploded.

These windfall profits enabled the "haves," as they are called in the trade, to offset operating losses elsewhere and even transfer profits to their parent companies overseas.

Small wonder then that parents blessed with such affiliates are prepared to provide them with millions of dollars with which to restructure.

Esso, for instance, will this year begin operations in its Karlsruhe refinery (cost: DM350m) and convert an annual one million tons of heavy heating oil into marketable automotive fuel and light heating oil.

Its parent company Exxon has approved another DM350m for restructuring the Esso filling station network.

BP, one of the have-nots, accuses the haves of using their windfall profits to push it out of the market.

According to BP, the haves made about DM3.5bn (after the 32 per cent exploitation levy but before tax) from domestic oil wells in 1982. The 1981 figure is said to have been DM4.5bn.

The Lower Saxon Economic Affairs Ministry, which pockets the lion's share of the exploitation levies, considers these figures too high.

The haves have rebutted BP's accusation, saying that "BP just happens to have the bad luck not to have any domestic oil," as a Shell spokesman puts it.

There is a bit of *schadenfreude* in this because years ago BP was offered a Mobil Oil concession that would have made it Germany's fourth largest producer of domestic oil.

Since BP cannot fall back on domestic oil windfalls, Buddenberg pins his hopes on cooperation deals with various Opec countries. But the Hamburg

Continued on page 7

Opec scrap[e]... bottom of the barrel

Nordwest-Zeitung

The 13-nation Opec cartel is b... ing more shaky from confe[rence to] conference.

Several weeks ago, following t[he] successful Vienna conference, spokesmen made a point of a[voiding] the word failure.

When the Geneva conference [broke] down on 24 January, they openly [spoke] of total failure.

The aim of the Geneva conf[erence] was to set production limits and the quotas among the individual [mem]ber states. It was also supposed [to have] agreed on a uniform bench price.

No agreement was reached on... But there is now a 'guessing ga[me]' ... progress regarding production ... among the participants in the c[onfer]ence who do not know whether ... have agreed on specific produ[ction fi]gures or not.

Hardly anything more aptly d[escribes] the chaos that must have prev[ailed be]hind the closed doors of the con[ference] room.

Opec's dilemma, put in a nut[shell, is] that there is simply too mu[ch oil] around.

The buyer countries have been ... grip of a thrift wave for some yea[rs and,] to make matters worse, the eco[nomy is] in a slump everywhere.

The situation for Opec is aggr[avated] still further by the fact that mo[st non-]Opec oil producers have increased ... output.

In 1979, the Opec countries pro[duced] close to 50 per cent of the world['s oil;] now this ratio is down to about ... cent.

The cartel members are una[ble to] cope with the situation because th[ey are] disunited. Every one of them wa[nts an] ever bigger slice of the shrinking ... for himself because all of them ne[ed] petrodollars, some to finance am[bitious] industrial projects and others to ... to be able to wage war with neigh[bours].

The Geneva conference having [bro]ken down, experts now no longe[r dis]count the possibility of a pric[e war] among the members of the cartel.

Some nations already underc[ut the] $34 per barrel bench price of cru[de. In] fact, the average price of Opec cr[ude is] now more likely to be $32.

Yet, it is doubtful whether a ... ous price war within the cartel is ... for the Western consumer.

The price war will naturally al[so hit] non-Opec producers, many of w[hom] have only oil to fall back on wh[en it] comes to closing their budgetary [defi]cits.

Take Mexico. Already deeply ind[ebt]ed to Western banks and on the ... of insolvency, it would go over [the] brink if oil prices were to plummet.

The consequences for the We[stern] banking system and the industri[al na]tions as a whole are obvious.

The point is that we would be ... better served by a well-functio[ning] Opec cartel that would gradually ... its prices to suit existing market [condi]tions.

Klaus-Peter Jor...

(Nordwest Zeitung, 25 Janu[ary 1983])

■ ECONOMY

Call for deregulation to boost economic impetus and step up productivity

Only if there are no wage hikes, if [the] waste of capital through artificial[ly] low real interest rates is prevented [an]d if subsidies on investments are dis[con]tinued will the next economic up[tur]n result in a sustained phase of [gro]wth.

This is the gist of the theses put for[wa]rd by the Kiel economist Professor [Her]bert Giersch at a symposium orga[nis]ed by the Association of the German [Pla]nt and Equipment Industry and the [Ins]titute for the German Economy.

Association President Tyll Necker [war]ned of a society "insured against all [ris]ks" because the premiums could be [so] intolerably high as to lead to perma[nen]t stagnation with declining real in[co]mes and growing unemployment.

Using "Productivity — Personal Re[sp]onsibility — Employment" as the [the]me, the organisers intend to hold a [ser]ies of lectures and panel discussions [to] explore the causes of the recession [an]d seek ways out of it.

Manfred Lennings, the president of [th]e Institute for the German Economy, [to]ld the meeting in his opening address [th]at the Association of the Plant and [Eq]uipment Industry and his Institute [di]d not intend to interfere in the general [el]ection by putting forward these theses.

"But we would be glad if the politi[ci]ans of *all* parties represented in the Bundestag would give some thought to our suggestions," Lennings said.

Necker headed his own thesis Personal Responsibility v. an All Risks Insurance Mentality.

He called for more personal responsibility beyond a minimum government insurance, deploring the fact that our social affairs policy, as in the case of illness and maternity, has increasingly been tied up with collective bargaining, thus boosting labour costs.

Both Necker and Giersch dealt with the worries of the young generation and their lack of prospects.

Giersch suggested that the "No Future" slogan of the young had unintentionally become the apt description of the wrong development caused by the redistribution from the haves to the have-nots.

This redistribution, involving profits and wages has led to a "dual economy," he said. Those who are involved in this process and stay in it are highly productive to warrant the excessive wages.

The others are jobless; they are barred from the market and faced with productivity demands they cannot meet.

Giersch came up with the following formula as a short-term prescription against unemployment: "Accelerated growth of the money supply. The more so the more costs through wage increases diminish."

He named the following ten points economic policy makers must meet if productivity and employment are to show a sustained improvement:

- The tax system must promote the formation of risk capital;
- Reduced tax rates for all incomes that can only be achieved by improved performance;
- Gradual elimination of all subsidies;
- No new subsidies to keep unprofitable industries going; subsidies to preserve old and create new jobs to be made contingent on pay concessions;
- Abolition of all law and regulations that block access to markets; all citizens must be able to take legal action against private and government barriers preventing market access;
- Regional policy makers must forgo capital subsidies and capital-intensive infrastructure investments in favour of a more free wage structure — including "zones of free economic activity in structurally weak regions;"
- Reduced rates for all compulsory government insurance schemes for those who are prepared to pay for some of the risk out of their own pockets;
- Full freedom of contract for housing;
- Removal of all restrictions aimed at protecting government enterprises (rail, posts and telecom);
- All municipal services to be made subject to free competition.

Necker's concern over an "all risks mentality" (where in the end nobody knows any more how much of his income goes where and how much he can pocket) was highlighted by Professor Wolfgang Stützel, a Saarbrücken economist.

He suggested that all figures pertaining to redistribution be taken out of the economic production process and compiled into a positive or negative "citizens' tax."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 February 1983)

Continued from page 6

head office refuses to say more than that negotiations are now in progress.

Insiders say that BP would like to get Saudi Arabia as a partner. It hopes to sell that country its redundant refineries while its competitors in Germany still worry about how to use their capacities.

But meanwhile there is a new heavy weather front on the horizon that could nullify the forecasts of the oil industry as a whole.

After the recent breakdown of the Genewa Opec conference, there is every possibility of a fierce price war among the cartel's producers.

Though this means that the oil companies would get their oil more cheaply, billions of dollars that were spent on opening up new sources of energy would be wasted.

North Sea oilfields became commercially feasible due to the high Opec prices. When prices go down, they will stop being profitable.

All this means that the oil giants are not yet over the hump.

Carola Böse-Fischer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 January 1983)

Senior peace corps packs experience

Here's 1,000 years of experience confronting you and asking for your support, Waldemar von Radetzky, spokesman of the senior citizens experts' service, recently told Bonn Development Aid Minister Jürgen Warnke.

He spoke on behalf of the 30 senior citizens present who had responded to the development aid drive of the German Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DIHT).

The Minister reminded the gathering that Konrad Adenauer was 85 when he started his fourth term as Chancellor.

He failed to mention other examples like ex-Ministers Karl Schiller and Alex Möller, both SPD, who have provided personal development aid in their specialised fields.

DIHT and the Development Aid Ministry are now trying to provide the same personalised aid.

The service will cost little because the volunteers are all pensioners who will be working for expenses only.

The basic idea, which has been practised in other countries for some time, is simple. Germany has a vast reservoir of elderly people who have retired but are still full of energy and expertise.

The developing countries, on the other hand, are short of specialists, especially in business administration and education.

The new organisation, which will operate with a minimum of red tape, intends to organise the export of experience.

The business community does not deny that it expects the service to assist it in developing its activities abroad. This would include the erection of new and maintenance of old production facilities along with the rehabilitation of existing ones that have fallen into disrepair.

Tours of duty in the Third World will deliberately be kept down to six months to prevent the new drive from competing with young development aid volunteers looking for work.

The emphasis will be on industrial development, and only once this is operating satisfactorily are other fields, like agriculture, the trades, education, social affairs, health, transport and construction, to be added.

Five to ten pilot projects that will include elderly experts are due to get off the ground in 1983. The senior citizens will then become an integral part of on-site operations.

The cost of the drive is likely to amount to DM590,000 in federal subsidies plus another DM390,000 to be provided by the business community.

Foreign chambers of commerce could incur some costs, but they would be minimal.

Minister Warnke said that he regarded the programme as a welcome support measure for government development efforts.

Among the 30 applicants gathered in Bonn were power station technicians, management consultants, mining machinery experts, project managers, mechanical engineers and communications experts familiar with both PR work and data processing. DIHT is looking for many more senior citizens willing to take on rewarding new tasks.

Rolf Clement

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 1 February 1983)

■ CENTREPIECE

High interest rates, low prices catch Third World in a cleft stick

Third World countries, excluding Opec, last year imported goods worth over $100bn more than they exported. That, the OECD says, is roughly the amount by which their foreign debts increased.

We are fast reaching the point at which the Third World will no longer be able to incur further debts. The developing countries will then have to limit imports drastically because they can no longer pay for them.

To balance their accounts they would need to cut imports by about a quarter, and these cuts could only be at the expense of imports from the industrialised world.

After decades during which debts have been incurred hand over fist the state of the world economy is alarming whichever view is taken.

Private households in the purportedly rich industrialised countries are so saturated with consumer durables that new purchases cannot possibly keep industry working at capacity.

In the Third World consumer potential would be virtually inexhaustible if only the developing countries had the cash with which to pay for imports.

The loans and credit facilities Third World countries have amassed over the past decade have increased their indebtedness from $100bn in 1971 to $620bn last year.

This increase in nominal indebtedness is partly offset by depreciation of the dollar in terms of prices paid for the developing countries' major exports: commodities and foodstuffs.

Since 1980, however, the situation has undergone a total change as a result of anti-inflationary policy in the United States.

In terms of domestic retail prices the purchasing power of the dollar continued to decline, although much less faster.

In terms of major world trading commodities the purchasing power of the dollar increased in contrast.

Between 1980 and the end of last year US domestic inflation declined from 13.6 to 4.5 per cent. In terms of commodity prices in world markets the purchasing power of the dollar increased by roughly a quarter over this period.

This reciprocal movement may be seen as the main root cause of the international economic crisis.

Since the mid-1970s growing deficits in the US Federal budget have stepped up the pace of inflation, which is why US interest rates have increased.

This increase was reflected in the Eurodollar market, where interest paid on three-month bills increased from 5.5 per cent in 1972 to a peak of 18.4 per cent in the third quarter of 1981.

The latest figure is 9.5 per cent, and developing countries' debts pay interest at rates that largely correspond to the Eurodollar rate.

As a rule notes are issued at floating rates of interest revised every three or six months. This worked fine until 1980 because the prices paid for the major export commodities of debtor countries increased.

But now the developing countries would need to export twice as much as in 1980 merely to fund their debts.

This is due in part to the decline in prices paid for their export commodities and in part to interest rates that are still extremely high.

They obviously cannot possibly afford to do so even if they were able. To ease the situation slightly, dollar interest rates would need to decline, accompanied by an increase in the market price, in dollars, for their exports.

Tension on US money markets usually eases off in January, but whatever easement there may have been this year seems to be over.

The Reagan administration's budget deficits are by no means only being financed on the US domestic money market. Indirectly, US government debts are also being funded via the Eurodollar market.

Banks outside the United States are buying US Treasury bonds because they are a much better credit risk than any other international dollar loans.

They buy dollar securities because the funds to be invested are dollar deposits.

US Treasury bonds are not going to present transfer difficulties as, for instance, loans to France would do, the French current account being so heavily in deficit that debts can only be serviced by raising fresh Euroloans.

No-one can say for sure whether the US government will need to borrow $100bn, $150bn or $200bn this year. All that can be said for sure is that its credit requirements will be too much for the US money market to handle alone.

This is sure to be the case no matter how fast the printing presses run as the Federal Reserve System issues Treasury bonds in return for freshly printed dollar bills.

So there is little hope of a return to interest rates such as were considered normal before 1972, especially as international capital accumulation is hampered by two factors.

One is that as a result of the oil slump and production cuts the petrodollar surpluses of Persian Gulf countries are plummeting.

Petrodollars were the main source of loan cash on the supply side.

The other is that an increasing number of debtor countries are no longer in a position to repay from current earnings both interest and capital on their medium- and long-term debts.

This is not only the case with countries that have already defaulted or been obliged to reschedule their debts.

The countries in question include European countries that are running up current account debts but are still able to raise fresh loans to repay capital when it is due.

There is less and less replenishment of physical cash available to fund loans by means of capital repayments from earnings set aside for the purpose.

The prices of developing co[…] export commodities are unlike[…] crease as long as demand is sh[…] the industrialised world.

Little interest in investment i[…] dence in the industrialised [...] and the only way in which this [...] affairs can be expected to impro[…] money being made availab[…] more cheaply.

But it can't. Experience ha[…] that the higher the amount of [...] brought into circulation by a [...] issue, the higher interest rates g[…]

These are facts not even all [...] mists have come to appreciate, [...] a wider public that is still pre[…] believe you only need to ma[…] money available to make it chea[…]

That is why there is growing [...] wide pressure, political pressure [...] up inflation.

This climate of opinion virtual[…] out confidence-building of th[…] needed to reduce the interest [...] for capital.

What is needed amounts to s[…] the circle. How can the dollar b[…] cheaper without interest rates i[…] ing?

It is no good for the dollar t[…] less expensive in relation to a c[…] such as the deutschemark (alr[…] suming the March general elec[…] sults do not put paid to any such [...]

The dollar has to grow cheap[…] lation to the prices paid for the [...] goods of debtor countries, and [...] way of bringing that about i[…] sweeping cut in interest rates.

That would make it easier to [...] stockpiling and boost demand.

Were this to happen the b[…] countries would not, of course, [...] economic health overnight a[…] banks would not be relieved alt[…] to write off bad debts.

It would merely stave off a [...] nent risk of countries with bal[…] payments debts, be they in Eu[…] the Third World, defaulting and [...] ing the international financial [...] into chaos.

When loans are raised with n[…] tion of repaying them but me[…] raising fresh loans to repay [...] ones, the system is sure to collap[…] ner or later when banks are no [...] prepared to fund roll-over loans.

Even so, low interest rates i[…] the debtors' position, whereas h[…] terest rates worsen it. The higher [...] terest rates the more likely a coll[…] the lower, the more unlikely.

If the Reagan administration [...] prepared to cut expenditure to th[…] and drastically reduce the US b[…] deficit low interest rates would [...] thin reach all over the world.

But the taboo on cuts in d[…] spending stands in the way of a[…] solution.

The Soviet Union would have [...] blind not to appreciate this conn[…] It is in a position to arm regardl[…] public opinion because people ar[…] ware of the cost of armament.

Soviet armament is financed b[…] high prices charged for con[…] goods. So the Kremlin, unpertur[…] domestic considerations, can forc[…] United States to take part in an [...] race.

Via high intererest rates the arm[…] puts the economy of the entire [...] World in jeopardy, which is as o[…] Soviet ideologists much surely reli[…]

Marxist Leninists can but hope [...] the risk proves fatal to the capitalis[…] tem.

Walter Wannenmach[…]
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und [...] 4 Februa[…])





[…]rotesque though it might sound, [...]one proposed way of partially [...]ing the problem of nuclear waste is [...]use it to preserve food through irra[…]tion.

[…]he proposal was put forward ten [...] ago by the late food chemist Pro[…]sor Joseph Schotmüller.

[…]ithout causing much of a public stir [...]the time, he wrote: "Preserving food [...]using radioactive waste from nuclear [...]ctors is a way out of the dilemma."

[…]t has taken until now for the oppo[…]nts of food irradiation to close ranks [...] come forward.

[…]ood irradiation is banned in the [...]deral Republic of Germany except for [...]perimental purposes and the treat[…]nt of some hospital foods.

[…]f the *Deutscher Verbraucherschutz[…]band* (DVS), a major consumer orga[…]sation, is anything to go by, it will [...]y banned. As a DVS spokesman puts [...] "Man really is not a suitable dump [...] nuclear waste."

[…]VS accuses the relevant authorities [...] promoting the legalisation of the [...]troversial procedure secretly in a bid [...] avoid public discussion.

The consumer organisation says that [...]emptions from the present provisions [...]e secretly being applied for (as in the [...]se of spices).

Dangers inherent in chemical preser[…]tives are played down in the hope of [...]ally legalising the process.

This suspicion is not unsubstantiated. [...]rmany's first major plant for irradia[…]n that can be used for food as well is [...]on to be built in Munich.

[…]EC provisions stipulate that food [...]ws in member-countries must be harmonised, and there is little likelihood [...]at Bonn will oppose irradiation in [...]ther Community countries.

[…]y implication, this means that irra[…]ation would have to be legalised in [...]s country as well. Various consumer [...]ganisations therefore recently orga[…]sed an expert symposium in Berlin.

The organisations fear that "irradia[…]n could be introduced and promoted [...]andestinely and without public dis[…]ssion or consultation with the consu[…]ers' representatives. There would also [...] no uniform guidelines."

[…]ood preservation by means of va[…]ous rays has been in existence for a [...]g time. Microwaves, ultra-violet and [...]ra-red rays now rank among the per[…]ssible means of food preservation.

But microwaves and infra-red rays [...]ve no influence on the electrical con[…]tion (and hence basic chemical pro[…]rties) of the substances exposed to [...]m.

[…]he more energy-laden ionised rays, [...] the other hand, can convert electri-

■ NUTRITION

Nuclear bombardment of food is criticised

cally neutral atoms or molecules into charged particles (ions).

Ionised rays can be either particle rays, like the beta (electron) rays of radioactive elements and electron accelerators, or they can be hard electromagnetic rays such as gamma or X-rays.

Beta rays from accelerators and gamma rays from radioactive substances (such as cobalt-60 and reactor waste) are still banned in food processing because the Bonn Health Ministry is uncertain about possible health hazards.

The point is that highly energised rays kill more than just bacteria and parasites. Depending on the dosage, they can also affect various components of food such as fats, proteins and carbohydrates, changing or destroying them.

Gamma rays, for instance, largely inactivate vitamin B1 and frequently destroy other vitamins.

Food treatment with these rays can promote the creation of carcinogenic substances (peroxides) and chemically aggressive molecules.

And, finally, irradiation can change the taste and smell of food to the point where experts speak of a "typical irradiation taste."

The list of possible changes could be continued ad infinitum. Yet none of this creates radioactivity, which would seem to disprove the argument about "man as a dump for nuclear waste." The usual energy dosage is simply too small.

Proponents of the method are going out of their way to dispel any misgivings as to its hazards.

Professor Johannes Friedrich Diehl, manager of the Federal Food Research Institute in Karlsruhe and head of the International Food Irradiation Project, brushes these misgivings aside, saying "it's all a load of nonsense."

He has for more than 20 years been researching the possible consequences of food irradiation and bases his findings on the recommendations of a 1981 World Health Organisation (WHO) study in which a team of international experts concluded:

- None of the available toxicological studies have proved any harmful effects on food resulting from irradiation;
- Many of the substances created by irradiation are produced by other preservation methods as well. Present knowledge regarding the nature and quantity of these substances indicates no health hazard to the consumer;
- Neither laboratory experiments nor the feeding of irradiated food to animals or (experimentally) to hospital patients with weakened immunological systems have ever shown any negative effects.

But this all-clear applies only to a dosage of up to ten kilogray (gray is a measuring unit for energy, one gray equalling one joule per kilo).

Any higher dosage, the experts say, entails incalculable risks.

Ten kilogray falls within the range of "low" and "medium" dosages. One kilogray suffices to stop potatoes germinating, destroy insects and retard the ripening of fruit and vegetables.

Up to ten kilogray is enough to reduce the number of micro-organisms causing disease.

But total sterilisation would require a dosage of up to 50 kilogray, and no expert can recommend this with a clear conscience.

A number of countries gave the go-ahead for low dosage irradiation long before the WHO study was released.

The United States and Canada irradiate wheat and flour, to protect them from insects, and potatoes, to prevent germination.

Japan irradiates potatoes on an industrial scale for the same purpose. Some 300,000 tons are treated in this way every year.

In Europe, the Dutch rank among the most permissive on this score. They permit the irradiation of asparagus, strawberries, fish and other food. The French, Belgians and Italians have authorised the irradiation of potatoes, onions and spices.

Even if laboratory tests show irradiation to be harmless, there is nevertheless the danger that lies in the irradiation technology itself.

In September 1982, an employee of the Norwegian Research Institute in Kjeller died as a result of a cobalt-60 radiation accident.

Safety provisions and the residual risks in any plant dealing with radioactive materials will always be steeper than in normal food preservation processes.

Irradiation on an industrial scale calls for the food to be transported by conveyor belt into a concrete bunker with more than metre-thick walls where it is exposed to irradiation for minutes or indeed hours (depending on the dosage).

Professor Diehl stresses that just about all experiments in this country are conducted with safe beta rays that can be switched off as needed.

This being so, the question is: why does the first major German plant to be erected in Munich by the Dutch Gammaster company envisage the use of radioactive cobalt-60 as its radiation source?

Neither Professor Diehl nor the Bonn Health Ministry have so far come up with an answer.

Twelve years ago, Professor Diehl himself expressed doubts about the necessity for new preservation techniques in an article in the magazine *Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik.*

He wrote: "Conventional conservation methods are so highly developed as to provide the consumer with a top quality range of food even without radiation."

Today, Bonn food chemist Professor Konrad Pfeilsticker writes: "Traditional methods, above all heat sterilisation whose third technological generation has not even been developed yet, provide solutions to almost all conservation problems that no irradiation could provide."

Professor Pfeilsticker assesses irradiation risks as being greater than those of any chemical preservatives where the risks are exactly calculable, given proper use.

Irradiation, he says, could even promote the multiplication of dangerous microbes.

Given the recommended dosage, irradiation kills the much feared salmonella in meat but leaves *clostridium botulinum* unscathed.

This bacterium produces a potent metabolic poison that is lethal to man even in the smallest of quantities (botulism). Only heat sterilisation can kill *clostridium botulinum.*

There is yet another danger irradiation advocates seem to disregard. In other fields of science and technology such as genetic laboratories, irradiated bacteria are treated under maximum security for fear that mutations could cause epidemics.

Despite (or because of) the still open questions, the Bonn Health and Agriculture Ministries refuse to comment on the envisaged Munich irradiation plant.

Continued on page 10

■ RESEARCH

Aachen geologists drill hole to take a closer look at the earth's crust

Astronauts have brought back samples of rock from the Moon, 380,000 km (237,500 miles) away, but geoscientists know little or nothing about the centre of the Earth, a mere 6,300 km (3,940 miles) down below.

They look like remaining in the dark about the Earth's interior for some time. So far they have little more than scratched at the surface, which is 2,900km, or about 1,800 miles, thick.

Deep drilling has reached a depth of seven to ten miles, whereas the crust is 20 miles and the mantle a further 1,800 miles thick.

"Even in the space age our opportunities of taking a direct look at the lower depths of our own planet are still strictly limited," says Professor Roland Walter.

Professor Walter holds the chair of geology and palaeontology at Aachen University of Technology.

Geoscientists are keen to make headway with in-depth surveys. As yet they have had to rely too heavily on geophysical measurements, models and assumptions.

Planned depth drilling is to provide them with tangible findings at last, but the deeper they drill, the more expensive it gets.

Time and again they come up against the limits of what is technically and financially feasible.

Soviet geoscientists have drilled to depths of about 11km (seven miles) in the Kola peninsula and aim to reach 15km, or 9.4 miles.

In the Federal Republic of Germany oil drilling has reached depths of more than seven kilometres, or four miles.

Aachen geologists now have a promising opportunity of reaching age-old rock formations from a 400-metre hole drilled in the High Venn massif on the Belgian border, midway metween the Eifel and the Ardennes.

The 4,000 hectares (10,000 acres) of the High Venn's ridge protrude 600 metres (2,000ft) out of one of the Earth's oldest geological formations, the Cambrian.

The Venn's black Cambrian slate and quartzite is over 500 million years old, but it did not come to the surface as a result of largely unexplained geological faults until the Tertiarry period, about a million and a half years ago.

In the northern part of the Eifel hills, west of the Rhine and north of the Moselle, the earth is still rising at a rate of roughly one and a half millimetres a year.

The causes are probably deep-seated, arguably in the border zone between the Earth's crust and its mantle, geophysicists suspect.

The Venn is completely lacking in the usual incisions made by river valleys or quarries or roads; it is as though the massif were clad in an unbroken layer of impervious clay.

This waterproof layer of clay several metres thick has taken shape over the years, accounting for high-altitude moorland.

The rain, of which there is plenty, cannot seep through the clay; it stays on the surface, making this natural beauty spot that attracts thousands of hikers yearly resemble a wet sponge.

Professor Walter and his fellow-scientists are itching to find out what lies beneath this tough outer skin.

Their hole, drilled near Monschau, is to be kept open for three years initially so measurements can be taken and experiments carried out.

The samples, stacked in crates like sticks of rock, are being systematically analysed. The structure of the old rock formations gives some idea of how they originated.

It also conveys an idea of how they were later deformed by tectonic forces.

Measurements of how hard the rock is, of its electrical and heat conductivity and natural magnetism should make it possible to interpret geophysical data more exactly and reliably.

Seismic waves sent down below likewise reveal important information about what lies down there via their echo.

"We can make inferences from findings on conditions down to [...] of several kilometres," says Pr[...] Walter.

Bensberg seismological research [...] tre is to base a measuring station [...] High Venn to register the most [...] subterranean tremors.

"We hope to shed a little light [...] structure of the High Venn," the [...] sor says.

There are few locations in the [...] ral Republic of Germany where [...] close look can be so readily [...] what the Earth must have look[...] millions of years ago.

The High Venn's Cambrian [...] the oldest of its kind in north G[...] The drilling is rated so impor[...] basic research that the Scienti[...] search Association has chipped [...] DM200,000 grant.

Research scientists working [...] project come from several Germ[...] versities and from universities [...] gium and Holland.

Anne B[...]

(Rheinische Post, 12 Jan[...])

Continued from page 9

At the moment, the issue is bef[...] Federal Health Council.

Meanwhile, consumer organi[...] are trying to bring about intern[...] regulations that would stipulate [...] irradiated food must be marked [...]

According to Professor Die[...] regulations would nip the intro[...] of irradiation in the bud.

Says he: "What food produc[...] be prepared to market food [...] clearly visible sticker saying: 'Ir[...]ed'?"

Friedhelm M[...]

(Die Zeit, 28 Jan[...])

INSIGHT

Hitler and the Holocaust — a historian's view

[...] writer of this article, Professor Her[bert] A. Strauss, is head of the anti-[Se]mitism research centre at the Techni[cal] University in Berlin.

[H]itler's appointment as Reich Chancellor on 30 January 1933 [ma]de a deep mark on German history, [wit]h consequences that included the [de]struction of German political culture [an]d intellectual freedom, systematic ter[ror], a German-inspired war and defeat [tha]t was inevitable from 1942 or 1943, if [not] earlier.

[T]hey combined to make up a catas[tro]phe with the grim legacy of which [...]y a generation of young Germans [wh]o had nothing to do with it will yet [hav]e to come to terms.

[H]itler's appointment as Reich Chan[cel]lor likewise made a deep mark on the [his]tory of Jews in Germany.

The appalling suffering to which they [we]re subjected from 1933 on in a sea of [bru]tality, mean trickery and violence [an]d the mass murder of millions of in[no]cent people force the survivors to [con]sider what caused the catastrophe.

[Wa]s the political constellation in which [m]odern Jewry took shape in the eman[ci]pation period a firm foundation for [the] future of the community in the post-[H]olocaust period?

Anti-Semitism, one is bound to say in [c]ontrast to the ideological aspects em[p]hasised in research into Fascism and [th]e history of the period, was a cardinal [fea]ture of National Socialism.

Christian Europe has a long history [o]f anti-Semitism. Christian tradition, be [it] reflected in the pronouncements of [the]ologians, Councils or resolutions, [ha]s always seen its truths borne out in [th]e humiliation of its elder brother, the [Je]wish faith.

Popular beliefs, the Passion plays, [sa]yings, European literature, painting [an]d cartoons established fixed ideas [De]r Stürmer needed only to transform [int]o political pornography.

When biological materialism felt the [rea]lity of human behaviour was to be [fou]nd in mechanically totalled physical [ch]aracteristics, an age that believed in [sci]ence incorporated prejudice of old [an]d feelings of hatred in racial theory.

Historians have long since probed the [ide]ological lines that lead to the pre[sen]t, but the topic is by no means ex[hau]sted.

The history of ideas and economic [an]d political history have long made it [cle]ar why an ideology that had roots all [ov]er Europe was so very effective in [G]ermany.

Source material in nearly all coun[trie]s shows that anti-Semitic attitudes [an]d ideas were inherited even in the [Un]ited States and Great Britain, but [par]ticularly strongly in Eastern Europe.

But it was mainly in Germany that [the]y took root in the media and in orga[ni]sations, in political parties and social [su]perciliousness.

In France the defeat of the anti-Drey[fus]ards sealed the fate of the anti-Semi[tic] alliance until the establishment of [the] Vichy government.

In Britain and the United States liber[al] traditions of civic rights set bounds to [th]e consequences of racial creeds, at [lea]st in the mother countries.

Equal rights for blacks in the United [Sta]tes, where they make up about 10 per cent of the population, has enjoyed priority for decades.

In Germany, by way of a special development, racial ideology gained support whenever society was unable to cope with its crises and overt or covert stereotypes could be mobilised to salve the actual or expected anxiety of social groups on the decline.

Stereotyped prejudice gained momentum from observations that were sweeping generalisations yet were full of suggestive power.

In Imperial Germany there was a lack of forces strong enough to counteract the trend.

Social groups who retained power by artificial means joined forces in anti-Semitism with others who where affected by industrialisation or by social upsets, offering them hatred instead of comprehensive reforms.

Anti-Semitism became symptomatic of a nostalgic failure to come to terms with the modern world.

The constellation in the final years of the Weimar Republic corresponded in direct continuity and political structure to this model.

On 5 March 1933 more than half the German electorate voted for a ruling coalition with a programme that unquestionably included anti-Semitism as one of its major features.

Yet German-Jewish relations were nonetheless extremely fruitful. German culture and the Jewish community benefited in a most creative fashion from coexistence and the integration of the Jews in German society.

That only goes to show how absurd the anti-Semitic tradition was, yet it nonetheless succeeded in paving the way for what is still a surprising fact.

It is the fact that people in the Third Reich, with laudable and memorable exceptions, and many honourable institutions, including the Roman Catholic and Protesant churches, looked the other way while persecution of the Jews took its course in public and at all Party and government levels.

They failed to realise that anti-Semitism was a warning as to the health of society and the realism of policies.

The biological view of the world was pathological because it had no basis in reality and both at home and abroad ran counter to the views of reality in the 20th century.

How otherwise could democratic forces have so grossly underestimated the enemy and shared responsibility for the greatest catastrophe in German history?

On 30 January 1939 the Nazis threatened to ensure the destruction of the Jews in Europe if world Jewry were to succeed in plunging the world into war again.

Surely it would have been in the German interest to appreciate by this stage at the latest the pathological gap between imagination and reality that was bound to lead to total defeat in that very war in May 1945.

For the Jewish community persecution and the Holocaust would have revolutionised politics and their view of their own existence even if the State of Israel had not been set up.

The bourgeois era of political innocence and integration at any price had come to an end.

The Jewish sense of history will in all probability add a religious holiday, Yom Hashoa, to the Jewish calendar to commemorate resistance in the Warsaw ghetto.

The German churches have nothing comparable, nothing to commemorate the 50 million or so dead in the Second World War, for which the Axis powers were to blame.

Researchers are engaged in a quest for causes and consequences, for guilt and responsibility, both in Germany and in neighbouring countries that turned a deaf ear to refugees in need of help and almost looked on idly as mass murder took its course.

The Jewish community's resistance to the rise of the Nazis was a failure. It was bound to be a failure because the community was too small in Germany and too dependent on its own resources to be able to influence a mass movement and revolutionary propaganda techniques.

The Jews failed in their bid to convince their neighbours of the threat to the survival of Germany and of their own community they felt the Nazis represented.

Political parties, the churches and organised groups failed to heed their arguments.

Both the strategy and tactics of this defence were unrealistic and ineffective. They sought to cure symptoms and were unable to cure the disease even though they had recognised it for what it was.

The foundations on which the emancipation of the Jews had been based in Germany and elsewhere in Europe were shaken by National Socialism, the Third Reich and the Holocaust.

Emancipation of the Jews had been accomplished and Jews had become part of the modern world, but at a price that now was seen as having been too high.

European states had proved incapable of involving pluralistic societies in terms of religion, race and culture and of drafting constitutions embodying any such ideal.

This forced the Jewish community to limit its view of itself almost exclusively to religious tradition and to attach greater importance to integration and all forms of assimilation than to group identity and the all-Jewish reality of welfare and responsibility.

The post-war situation of the Jewish community requires progress toward a second emancipation, that of equal rights for minority groups (and not just the Jews).

It calls for progress toward a society that takes both parts of the US motto, *e pluribus unum*, seriously and embodies them in political and social institutions.

The Jewish community is not alone in having suffered losses beyond the powers of human imagination as a result of persecution and murder.

Research has yet to be conducted into the full extent of the losses sustained by Germany, Eastern Europe and the West in terms of manpower, dynamism and creative potential, intellectual and inner power in the wake of the Holocaust.

Its scientific analysis has for years formed part of an international project with which the writer is associated.

Prejudice old and new is constantly in evidence. What began 50 years ago has both for Jews and their environment, including the German environment, provided historic proof of a common interest in analysing and eliminating this prejudice.

Herbert A. Strauss

(Der Tagesspiegel, 30 January 1983)




Herbert A. Strauss (Photo: Klaus Mehner)

Jewish don returns to Berlin

The life story of Herbert Strauss, professor of modern history at New York's City College, is easily told and as straightforward as it is upsetting.

It is typically German for its period and typically Jewish too: the tale of the fate that befell a man when times were hard.

He was born in 1918 and grew up in Würzburg where his father was a respected machine tool dealer.

His father was also an orthodox Jew from a Heilbronn family dating back to the 16th century. His mother was a Catholic.

At *Gymnasium*, or high school, Herbert was held in high esteem by his teachers because of his sporting prowess. He was soon the only Jew at the school.

Anxiety was intensified as arbitrary treatment gained its post-1933 momentum. His father had to close the firm and work as a sales representative.

In 1938 he was arrested for allegedly having insulted the wife of a public servant. His son came back from Berlin, where he had gone to learn farming in preparation for emigration to Palestine, to see him in custody.

It was the day the synagogues were set fire to, in Würzburg and all over Germany. "Herbert," an old school friend said as they met in front of the burning synagogue, "it's you this time; next time it'll be us."

To save his father's life he bought a Bolivian visa for $300, but the old man refused to leave without his wife and there wasn't enough cash for both of them. His father saw the family one last time before he was deported to the Warsaw ghetto. He was gassed at Treblinka concentration camp.

Herbert Strauss still has a snapshot of his father from his days in the Warsaw ghetto.

His mother later had a gravestone laid for her husband in Würzburg. Strauss had the word killed in the inscription changed to murdered.

The urn with his mother's ashes he has kept in New York since 1949 is now also buried in Würzburg.

But Strauss went back to Berlin and proudly wore his yellow Star of David. He was trained as a rabbi by Leo Baeck, graduating with a thesis on "What does it mean to live as a Jew?"

In Steglitz, a Berlin suburb, he was forced to sweep the streets, but he managed to pass university entrance exams before going underground.

Continued on page 12

■ THEATRE

George Tabori reviews 1933 in Bochum

George Tabori's latest play, *Jubiläum* (Jubilee), was premiered in Bochum on the 50th anniversary of the Nazi take-over in 1933.

The audience must imagine they are sitting facing the plate glass of the foyer, with the plate glass of the entrance to the Kammerspiele behind it.

In front of the first plate of glass, and behind it, there is a romantic cemetery grown wild. Behind the second plate of glass the evening rush-hour traffic drives past.

A meeting of past and present is symbolised. A boy in a black leather coat scribbles a swastika and a star of David on the window pane, adding the slogan *Juda verrecke!*

This he does from outside, in the present. Inside, in the past, an old grave-digger with a red clown's nose potters about among the gravestones.

At the front of the stage the dead begin to crawl out of their graves. That is the opening scene of the play.

The German theatre made an early start to dealing with the country's Nazi past. It has included Rolf Hochhuth's *The Representative*, Peter Weiss's Auschwitz oratorium *The Investigation* and Tabori's no-holds-barred concentration camp play *Cannibals*.

Tabori is a Hungarian Jew whose family was killed, all except for his mother, in Auschwitz. He lived in the United States before returning to Germany.

Ever since his experimental dramatic work in Bremen he has made a lasting mark on contemporary German theatre.

He does not ascribe to the theory that crime and punishment can be satisfactorily dealt with by conventional aesthetic means.

So he brings the victims of Nazi terror out of their musty graves for the jubilee.

They are Arnold Stern, played by Stanley Walden, a Jewish musician, and his wife Lotte, played by Eleonore Zetzsche.

There is their niece Mitzi, a spastic, played by Ursula Höpfner, a homosexual hairdresser, played by Franz Boden, and his lover, a transvestite, played by Wolfgang Feige.

They too were considered unfit to live by the blue-eyed blond master race.

The dead recall their memories of what life was like 50 years ago, combining autobiographical accounts with the tales of others and contemporary history.

They are well able to do so in an age when the living say nothing and either suppress the past or strike a pose of warning recollection.

The victims who have risen from the dead need have no qualms about telling jokes beginning with queries such as: "How do you get 20 Jews into a Volkswagen Beetle?"

Jokes such as these do not make light of horror as they do in the fast-moving anti-war revues of Jerome Savary and Joan Littlewood.

They are so macabre, so brutally frank that they retain the elementary force needed to undermine lies and false shame.

The half-decomposed corpses join in song, proclaiming in doggerel verse that the Jews will be killed in Buchenwald and the Reds in Majdanek.

The plot walks a slender tightrope between dream and reality, interlinking space-time continuums.

The Nazi killers of the Third Reich do not put in an appearance, but the young neo-Nazi Jürgen, played by Klaus Fischer, establishes a link between past and present.

He symbolises the Brecht quotation: *Der Schoss ist fruchtbar noch, aus dem das kroch* (The womb is still fertile from which that all crawled).

Jürgen is a nephew of the transvestite. He was brought up by his father, a man who failed to learn his lesson, to accept the goose step and the Nazis' hare-brained racial theories.

In visionary violence he not only tortures his dead uncle but also drives Mitzi, who is crazy about him, to suicide by asking, in a letter: "Why did they forget to gas you?"

But the chorus of the dead just laugh at him.

Many memorable, heart-rending photographs documenting Germany's none-too-distant past have been on show to mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi take-over.

But few scenes are as memorable as Mitzi's tale of how Jewish children were hanged, a tale she tells by continually switching from the part of the victims to that of the hangmen.

Tabori clearly shows that moral categories of good and evil are inapplicable to ideologically-based mass murder.

The playwright-director ends almost on a note of reconciliation between Christians and Jews.

Before a bulldozer flattens the graves outside and the dead retire to the "wet beginnings" of life, as the grave-digger, Robert Giggenbach, puts it, Tabori appears on stage.

Wearing a concentration camp uniform beneath a black overcoat he breaks bread and shares it with his actors, who identify with their parts with bated breath.

Formal objections may doubtless be raised to this act of mourning. Some passages are exaggeratedly theatrical, which is something Tabori himself has often criticised.

But these objections are silenced by the shock created by the overall impression, which was so powerful that the first-night audience stopped applauding when the curtain fell, suddenly realising how inappropriate applause was.

As long as it takes a lowbrow treatment of the subject like Holocaust, the US TV film serial, to get across to German viewers what life was really like in Nazi Germany, a play like Tabori's will be important.

A scene from *Jubilee*

(Pho

As long as Turkish jokes rounds like the Jewish jokes play like *Jubiläum* will be n important; it will be essential.

Han

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 1 Fe


Continued from page 11

Several Berlin families helped him to hide. They include a painter and decorator whose son was in the SS but whose painting of Hitler on the wall concealed another of Lenin.

The girl he later married joined him when her parents were deported. The Gestapo once knocked on the door and the janitor did not open until they had made their getaway via the back stairs.

On another occasion he managed to escape arrest at the last minute on Leipziger Strasse in the city-centre.

He took his girlfriend to Switzerland and safety using forged papers. She dyed her hair to match the passport photograph.

In June 1943 he too made it to Switzerland, taking two hours to wriggle across the border on his stomach at the dead of night.

He travelled to Singen, near the Swiss border, by train using a forged identity card of Albert Speer's Armaments Production Ministry.

He was checked by the police but they failed to smell a rat. "I was an honorary Aryan," Strauss recalls, "and greeted them with a *Heil Hitler!* and the Nazi salute."

He studied and took his PhD in Berne. Then he went to New York, where he became a professor at the City College and taught there for 35 years.

He edited handbooks on the emigration of German Jews, was a civil rights campaigner for equal rights for blacks. In New York he learnt how to live, to be free and planned to stay.

Now he sits in a makeshift office on the ninth floor of the Telefunken building on Ernst-Reuter-Platz back in Berlin, where he has been appointed head of the anti-Semitism research centre at the Technical University.

It is the only university department of its kind in the world.

His secretary has just gone out to buy a coffee machine for the office. On the window still there is a cardboard box containing the applications by 84 people for the other jobs at the centre.

From another box Strauss fishes out yellowed, aging documents: a report form from his schooldays and a booklet for the Reich sporting proficiency badge.

"Health is the foundation stone of happiness," the booklet proclaims. It was sent to him by the widow of a former teacher.

He recently got a letter from a Berlin woman who now lives in Carmel, near San Francisco. She wrote that she had fallen in love with him as a 15-year-old when she saw him sweeping the street outside Steglitz town hall.

Strauss quietly says he could only have survived in those days here in Berlin, such an "open city." Only in Berlin could such a research centre as the one he now heads have been set up.

He is not a man given to letting his emotions run away with him. His recollections of the bad old days and the people who tortured him and helped him are sober and level-headed.

"I am not going to let Hitler control my emotions for the rest of my life," he says.

In his years abroad, as a German Jew, he had no special links with Berlin, not even with Israel, where his sister lives on a kibbutz. Neither attracted him.

America has long been his world, the world where he wanted to live and teach. It was the task that tempted him to leave New York after all, and with it his new home, his friends, fellow-lecturers and students.

For the next four years until he retires he plans to commute between Berlin and New York, to lay the groundwork for his new research centre in Berlin, to give lectures and hold seminars, to build up archives and a library and to edit a bibliographical handbook.

At 64 he is making a fresh start, generously backed by the city and the university, albeit not until after a protracted battle over who was respo what. What with the usual over funds it was four years b original idea was put into effe

"I am what I do," says Stra he means is that his research history of anti-Semitism, is spread knowledge, not emotio

"I don't see every Germ Nazi's son," he adds, but he room for misunderstanding seriously he plans to do his job.

"I shall not be easy to han professor," he says, using the ble modern German word *pfl* meaning easy to handle (initial ing of the non-iron variety, bu the figurative sense, people).

To underscore his point he s a letter he has just received. It 72-year-old Danzig-born Germ asks why the Jews were so unpo

"I have nothing against the *Professor*," he writes, "as long are well-mannered, honest and towards others who are not Jews

But he goes on to claim Je largely to blame for First Wo food shortages, for selling the railway to the Poles for a song peopling the streets of Danzig licians Jews with their long bla and hats.

They had wielded too alien fluence on German culture, ruthless war profiteers and pro dictatorship of money.

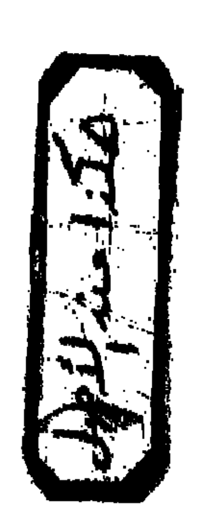
It was hardly surprising peop had enough one day, he said. Thi day anti-Semitism that Herbert S knows only too well is still aroun

But that doesn't worry him. H to track down the phenomeno that is ever-present and was n limited to the Germans in Hitler'

As an erstwhile champion of rights for blacks he wonders wh in his Berlin skyscraper office w Jews will have enough self-con to proclaim that Jewish is beauti

Dietrich Strot

(Die Zeit, 21 Ja



THE ARTS

Dial-a-poet service flourishes in several German cities

ostal authorities in several German cities run a dial-a-writer (or poet) vice. They are Düsseldorf, Hamburg, , Koblenz, Lübeck, Hanover, Trier, itz, Mannheim, Münster, Nurem- and Stuttgart.

or the 23 pfennigs it costs to make a mal 8-minute call people dialling the t number can now hear their favou- writers and poets, both living and d.

The service was pioneered in Kiel, re a citizens' group calling itself rary Workshop started by providing phone poems.

was workshop member Michael ustin who brought the idea back London, which had a similar ser-

hat was back in 1977 when New rk and Washington already had a l-a-poem service operated by the merican PR man and poet John Gior-. But that service was of a somewhat fferent nature. What Giorno offered s pornographic poetry which he tried promote among high-school stu-ents.

As was only to be expected, the ole thing culminated in a scandal t spelled the end of the service.

The idea had meanwhile been picked up by others in London and Basle, Switzerland, though this time it was clean verse.

The first Kiel service was done with a recorded answering device until the city's postal authority agreed to provide its own more sophisticated facilities.

Hanover followed suit instantly, and then, in 1980, came Mainz. Stuttgart, Münster and the rest followed in 1981.

Saarbrücken went a step further by establishing what became known as the Saar Poetry Telephone, organised by a society specially founded for this purpose.

Most of the other services are organised by the cultural authorities of the cities concerned, in cooperation with literary organisations.

Recordings are usually three to five minutes long and run for a week around the clock.

The Post Office has made it clear that unless there are at least 1,000 calls a month it will discontinue the service as a non-paying proposition.

But so far, dial-a-writer has been paying its way, mainly because by and large the authors get nothing for their efforts.

There are exceptions. The cultural authorities of Nuremberg and Mannheim pay authors DM5,000 each while Hamburg pays them DM2,500 as reimbursement for expenses.

Lübeck holds the record with 10,000 to 12,000 calls a months.

This is mainly due to the fact that Lübeck plays a recording of Thomas Mann (he died in 1955) reading from his famous *Buddenbrooks* family saga.

Kiel has managed to present Siegfried Lenz, which Hamburg vainly tried to do. Kiel also has such literary luminaries as Stefan Heym, Rainer Kunze, Max von der Grün and Arno Surminski.

The latter, along with Gabriel Laub, Eckhart Klessmann, Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach, Heike Doutiné, Axel Eggebrecht, Geno Hartlaub and Hans Eppendorfer, can also be dialled in Hamburg.

Smaller cities usually have a much higher percentage of callers than big ones. Munich and Berlin lack the service, though Berlin is about to catch up.

None is planned for Cologne because the cultural authorities there hold that this kind of service could be misused to spread ideology.

Cologne would prefer to present poetry readings in its trams or spread poetry through posters.

Rosemarie Winter

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 20 January 1983)

Heidelberg exhibits Bible translations in German

Heidelberg University library has put more than 70 of the most important Bible translations into German show.

The exhibition, entitled German Bi- es Before and Since Martin Luther, ows the most significant stages in ble translation work from the early ddle Ages to the 19th century.

The Bible is the world's most-trans- ted book. The complete text has been nslated into 200 languages and sec- ns of it into as many as 1,000.

In Germany, it is the translation by rtin Luther that marks the climax of s type of work. The exhibition is elu- ated by a richly illustrated 272-page alogue that sells for DM10.

The Old Testament books were origi- lly written in Hebrew and those of e New Testament in Greek. As Chris- nity spread within the territory of the man Empire, the Bible was translat- into Latin.

One of these translations, the so-call- *Vulgate*, was widely circulated and ter served as a basis for translations o other languages, among them Ger- n.

The Gothic *Heiland* by Wulfilas (370 D), the *Evangelienharmonie* by the nk Otfried von Weissenburg (870) d many other translations into Ger- n dialects still exist in manuscript rm.

The Church was not particularly fond f these translations and many of them re burned at the stake together with ir author.

Martin Luther was certainly not the st to translate a Bible into German. t he deserves credit for having made s translation from the original He- w and Greek texts rather than from ir translations into Latin.

In his work he used a 1516 edition of e New Testament in Greek that had en published in Basle, Switzerland, by Erasmus of Rotterdam, who also published a translation into Latin.

The first German-language Bible was printed by Johannes Mentelin of Strasbourg in 1466. His translation was based on an anonymous 14th century manuscript.

The next 50 years saw the publication of 18 translations into the two main German dialects. They were printed in Strasbourg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Cologne, Lübeck and Halberstadt.

Almost all these original Bibles are shown in Heidelberg. Among the most widespread editions was the Bible printed by Anton Koberger of Nuremberg, which is conspicuous due to its rich illustrations (coloured woodcuts). The New Testament, which Martin Luther took only 11 weeks to translate, was printed by Melchior Lotter of Wittenberg in 1522. The illustrations were done by Lucas Cranach the Elder. The Old Testament was translated somewhat later by a team of translators working under Luther's supervision. The first complete Luther Bible was printed by Hans Lufft of Wittenberg in 1534. It was soon followed by numerous reprints by other printers since there were no copyright provisions at the time.

Eventually, the Catholic Church dropped its opposition to translations, which led to the best-known Catholic Bible translation of the time by Johannes Eck, Luther's adversary.

Günter Pflaum

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 January 1983)

David and Goliath scene from Anton Sorg's Bible, Augsburg 1477. (Photo: Catalogue)

Electronic dictionary premiered

Mannheimer MORGEN

Five years of research and development have now culminated in the presentation to the Press in Munich of the first German-English electronic dictionary.

The dictionary (which also doubles as a pocket calculator) has not only a 4,000-word vocabulary but also provides information on the finer points of grammar and has a special keyboard for vocabulary practice.

Karl Ernst Tielebier-Langenscheidt, chief executive of the Langenscheidt dictionary publishers, described this latest product of his company as an entrepreneurial adventure.

But then this type of pioneering seems to be a Langenscheidt trait from way back. Even the grandfather of the present head of the company, who founded the publishing house that was eventually to become the world's largest dictionary publisher, experimented with new media when he contacted Thomas A. Edison in a bid to use gramophone records in teaching foreign languages.

This eventually culminated in video language cassettes in 1981 nnd finally the first attempts at using video discs for that purpose.

In the course of his search for new electronic word banks that took him to Silicone Valley, California, Tielebier-Langenscheidt became convinced that neither American nor German companies could meet his standards.

The fact is that the first generation of computer dictionaries has disappeared from the market. They were too bulky and their storage capacity too small. The breakthrough came from Japan.

The criterion used in programming the new electronic dictionary was not how frequently a certain word is used but how necessary it is for tourists and those learning a language.

The 4,000 English words stored by the computer, they range from Ability to Zoo, go beyond the English vocabulary demanded by the educational authorities for high-school graduates. The vocabulary for primary schools is exactly 983 words.

All the user has to do is press the first two letters of a word in either English or German.

The computer then quickly "thumbs" its pages to come up with all words beginning with these letters.

Once the wanted word has been found all possible translations are given on the 9-digit display.

Tests show that the answers are invariably obtained more quickly than with a conventional dictionary. Langenscheidt dictionaries usually contain between 10,000 and 200,000 entries.

The company also wants to pioneer new marketing methods. The computer will not only be sold at bookshops (most of them have already ordered it) but also by mail order companies.

The Alpha 8, as the little marvel is called, retails at DM149. The battery is supposed to be good for 600 hours.

The end of February will see the "publication" of a German-French Alpha 8.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Mannheimer Morgen, 29 January 1983)

■ MODERN LIVING

Pollsters find Germans fraught with worries yet still hopeful

The Germans have plenty of worries and fears, though there also seems to be more hope than ever before, an Infratest opinion survey shows.

Ninety-four per cent said they were worried or indeed frightened about growing unemployment; 50 per cent of 14-year-olds and over were dismayed at pollution and destruction of the environment, while 39 per cent were frightened outright by it.

Sixty-nine per cent fear that technology and computers will make work more inhuman, 47 per cent find this

Frankfurter Neue Presse

worrisome and 21 per cent fear energy resources could dry up.

These poll results were discussed at length at a two-day congress organised by the Hanns-Martin Schleyer Foundation. The theme: "Misguided Fear, Chances for Common Sense and Courage for an Open Society."

The Zurich opinion researcher, Professor Gerhard Schmidtchen, suggested that the results of the poll (conducted at the end of 1982) show that the people not only fear the threat to their natural environment but that they also fear for the social and moral organisation of society as a whole.

Three out of four Germans are either frightened or worried that they will lose someone they love, that there will be a war in their lifetime, that crime will spread and that good manners and morals will no longer count as people become increasingly inconsiderate.

The majority fear that general mistrust will grow and that we will become more and more demanding while forgetting how to be happy.

More than 50 per cent see democracy as being in jeopardy. They fear excessive state control could endanger freedom. Forty-four per cent believe that the poor nations will one day take revenge on the rich.

Summing up, Professor Schmidtchen said that too many Germans are too frightened of the wrong things. As he put it:

"There are wise fears and there is stupid confidence. Given a bit more fear in the 1920s and 1930s, the nation could have been spared a great deal of misery."

The survey also shows that, notwithstanding a world full of threatening problems, the Germans are also very hopeful. Their greatest hope rests on the certainty of having people they respect around them.

Sixty-six per cent regard medical progress as promising; and 64 per cent in their hopes on the world's will be preserve the peace. An equal number are confident they will be able to weather difficult times.

Sixty per cent pin their hopes on industriousness and love of freedom.

One in two draws hope from the fact that young people are so independent today. Forty-five per cent derive their confidence from the fact that citizens of today are better able to make themselves heard.

Forty-four per cent believe in a free market economy while 41 per cent trust in God. One in three pins his hopes on the UN.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 January 1983)

Battered babies appeal

The TV is on, baby cries his head off, father blows his top and lashes out. Net result: a dead baby.

This, or something like it, how 69 small children died in this country in 1981.

In 43 of these cases, the children were killed by their parents, in two cases by relatives and in five by friends or acquaintances.

Though these figures seem small relative to the population, more and more citizens and organisations have lately been prompted by them to demand better legal protection for children.

Even so, the parties represented in the Bundestag have refused to tighten up on the 18 July 1979 amendment of the act governing parental authority.

In explaining their decision, the lawmakers said that they were still guided by the "common parental right to physically punish their children."

But the law prohibits any humiliating child-rearing actions. These include "disproportionate physical punishment and measures that intolerably violate the child's dignity as a human being."

Records show that 69 children died as a result of battering and 1,423 were badly abused by their parents or relatives in 1981.

The number of children tortured to death in 1973 was 142 while 1,934 were badly mistreated. Statistics say nothing about the grey zone.

But despite these shocking figures, the Bundestag Petition Committee opposes tighter legislation against physical abuse for fear that this would lead to more psychological terror.

The final result of this would be even more harmful and, what's more, prosecution would be impossible in such intangible cases.

Even cases of physical abuse make it very difficult to gather legal evidence. Of the 1,934 cases reported in 1973 only 202 resulted in court sentences. In 1980 the ratio was 158 sentences in 1,507 cases of child abuse.

The Petition Committee stresses that the number of recorded cases has declined. But it also suggests that statistics should not lead to hasty conclusions.

The number of births in the Federal Republic of Germany has also gone down in the past ten years.

Klaus J. Schwehn

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 29 January 1983)



Changing families

A divorce need not necessarily have a negative effect on the children involved provided the parents keep seeing each other after separation and the parent given custody enjoys financial security.

This was the surprising conclusion arrived at at aninternational symposium organised by the German Unesco Commission and Munich University. The theme: The Changing Family in a Changing World.

Experts attending suggested the establishment of additional community centres and municipal counselling services to help in crisis situations and provide a meeting place for people with the same problems.

Generally, the past few decades have seen a considerable change in family structures, bringing new and major problems. But the family, the nucleus of society, is still capable of adjusting to changing conditions.

Among the most important changes named at the meeting was the role of the woman. There has been a levelling off process regarding family authority — especially in the middle and upper classes.

The trend towards small families has highlighted the father's role in child rearing.

Research has also come up with an answer to the question regarding the effect on children of the mother going out to work. Boys are much more vulnerable than girls.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 29 January 1983)

Teddy bear is eighty

The Teddy bear is an octugenarian. It was first presented to the public by the Steiff stuffed toy factory in Giengen, Württemberg at the 1903 Leipzig Fair.

Teddy started life as a commercial flop, and his fate would have been sealed almost before he started off had it not been for an American who bought 3,000 Teddy bears on the very last day of the fair.

He took the bears to America where Teddy met with a number of fortuitous coincidences.

A New York shopowner put Teddy in his window, where he was promptly discovered by a passer-by who had been put in charge of decorating the table for the wedding breakfast of the daughter of US President Theodore Roosevelt (nicknamed Teddy).

As it happened, Teddy Roosevelt was a passionate bear hunter, which made Teddy the bear a most fitting decoration.

Teddy the President was so enchanted that someone jokingly spoke of "Teddy bear" — and the name was coined.

When the whole thing was picked up by the press, the German Teddy became unstoppable as a best seller. 1907 sales were 974,000 units, 200,000 having been sold the year before.

The popularity of Teddy bears now far outstrips that of the man responsible for their name.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 20 January 1983)

Road toll of foreign children

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Children of foreigners are more traffic accident prone their German contemporaries, study by a government authority vate traffic safety council and the cedes Foundation shows.

Out of 1,000 children up to 23 Germans and 48 foreigners volved in traffic accidents.

The per thousand ratio for (the study was made for eight cities) is 16 German and 40 foreign dren.

In the 6- to 14-year-old there appears to be a somewhat equal balance: 43 Germans and gners per thousand.

The ratio of foreign children with the severity of the accident.

Among the particularly prone are Turkish children, boys, whose accident involvement times that of girls.

One reason given is that parents are unable to train the dren to cope with city traffic.

A number of organisations, them the police, the Children's Club and the Mercedes Foundation now want to concentrate their education on foreign children.

Pioneer projects are planned cities, among them Stuttgart and

At a press conference Daimler press officer Bernd Gottschalk the fact that the Bonn government pared down its traffic education from DM34m in 1974 to DM 1982.

This has been upped slightly DM12m for the current year.

He criticised drives to further speed limits (down to 20 mph dential areas.

He stressed that it is not government regulations but information targeted specific groups that will reduce accidents.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 Jan

Coming out in stickers

For many young people today ters, buttons and stickers are of publicly expressing their views standing by them.

According to a supplementary ume to the Youth 81 report by Deutsche Shell these young people are prepared to stick out their necks in defence their views.

The study is based on polls conducted among young people aged between 10 and 20.

The trend is more pronounced Germany than in many other countries says the study's author, educationalist Jürgen Zinnecker of Marburg.

The use of these means of expression usually begins at the age of 10 mostly as an attempt to imitate children.

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 12 Januar

TERRORISM

Right-wing raids on US forces?

DIE ZEIT

eft-wing urban guerrillas such as the RAF, or Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Cells seemed an obvious choice for culprit when raids on facilities in Hesse assumed alarming portions in November and December.

They had been to blame beforehand, accounting for over 50 raids last year bombing the European headquarters of the US Air Force in Ramstein. They had launched attacks on high-king US service personnel and booby-trapped GIs' parked cars. And they almost always mailed a letter to the local paper claiming responsibility.

So it seemed a foregone conclusion that left-wing after-hours commandos were to blame for the bomb left in the underground garage of an apartment block in Eschborn, near Frankfurt, on November. The device was discovered in time to avoid damage being done. They also seemed the most likely culprits when on 14 December GIs' cars were booby-trapped in Butzbach and Fechenheim and on 15 December in Darmstadt. Two bombs exploded, seriously injuring the car-owners.

Who else could have been to blame, will have been reasoned. Yet none of 500 or so clues clearly pointed to left-wingers.

The raids were not followed by the usual letters claiming responsibility. Their modus operandi was not in keeping with previous raids either.

These bombs, unlike their predecessors, were not laid to create the maximum upset and effect; indiscriminate killings were the aim.

This is a new departure in the pattern of this kind of terrorism. For once the bombmen had run the risks of killing "innocent" victims, such as service wives and children.

The 24-storey Eschborn apartment block, for instance, is home for about people in 250 apartments. The explosion could have caused a fire in the office tract, endangering the lives of many civilians.

GIs' wives could have been driving their children to school.

The explosive charges were packed in extinguishers and designed to detonate as soon as the fuse was activated.

Earlier devices had been fitted out with time fuses set to make the parked cars blow up at night or during the weekend "to ensure that innocent people ran no risk," as one Revolutionary Cell letter put it.

Hamburg counter-intelligence officers, experienced in dealing with neo-Nazis, were first to suspect that the culprits could be both left-wing and neo-Nazi militants.

One reason was that two banned neo-Nazi groups, the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann and the People's Socialist Movement of Germany, had set up cells units in Hesse.

Both are experienced in handling arms and explosives; neither has ever made any secret of its hatred of the Americans.

Another was that they are known to use the fuses used in the three raids, fuses supplied with do-it-yourself rocket kits sold in toy shops.

A third was that left-wing extremists are keenly, jealously aware of the difference, as was noted in a leaflet circulated in left-wing bars in Darmstadt.

It blamed both the Guerrilla Diffusa, a left-wing group, and the fascists for the raids in Eschborn, Butzbach, Fechenheim and Darmstadt.

In an article headed Drawing a Clear Line of Distinction Between Us and the Enemy and bearing the RAF's star emblem "some out-and-out fascist groups or other" are said to have had "their dirty paws involved."

Their attacks on ordinary GIs had been aimed at making left-wingers appear to blame and at confusing issues on police wanted lists.

The leaflet sought to draw the distinction because the writers were keen to explain "who they were and what they wanted."

They were opposed not only to endangering innocent lives but also to raids that were of no propaganda use and ran counter to their propaganda mission to strike at imperialism and Zionism.

The latest raids also fit into the neo-Nazi scene ideologically, there currently being a serious dispute between Hamburg neo-Nazi leader Michael Kühnen and remaining members of the other two groups.

They are opposed to Kühnen's Hitler cult and uniform fetishism and call for anti-imperialist liberation war to be waged, on the Americans in particular.

The right-wing terrorists, who are active in the Offenbach area, belong to either the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann or the People's Socialist Movement launched by Friedhelm Busse in Munich.

They subscribe to the old-style National Bolshevist view that what Germany needs is neutrality at peace and in friendship with the Soviet Union.

Described by Kühnen as putschist adventurers, these "left-wing" right-wingers note in a pamphlet secretly distributed:

"We recommend a comparison between Russian and West German officers. It will soon be clear who the subhumans are, not to mention US soldiers, of course."

This hatred of America voiced by the brown bombers has much in common with a leaflet distributed by the Young National Democrats, the NPD youth wing.

"You worry about occupied houses," the leaflet states, referring to squatting. "We are concerned about an occupied country."

Right-wingers are gaining fresh support. Newcomers have long aimed at emulating and following in the footsteps of:

- Manfred Roeder, who bombed hostels for political asylum applicants and is now serving a prison sentence;
- Frank Schubart, who shot two Swiss border patrol officers before committing suicide;
- Gundolf Köhler, who was responsible for a bloodbath at the Munich *Oktoberfest* in which he was one of the victims; and
- Helmut Oxner, who shot two coloured GIs outside a Nuremberg discotheque and then committed suicide.

Dietrich Strothmann

(Die Zeit, 28 January 1983)

RAF urban guerrilla stands trial in Stuttgart

A trial with a difference against a former leading member of the left-wing urban guerrilla group RAF, or Red Army Faction, has begun in the special security wing of Stammheim jail, Stuttgart.

Peter-Jürgen Boock is accused of having taken part in six murders but his trial is distinctly different from those of other left-wing terrorists, which have frequently been accompanied by a disorderly hue and cry.

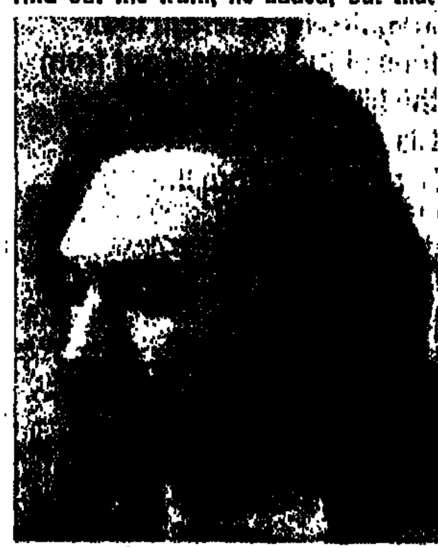
In his case the defence counsel have called on the court to have confidence in their client, while even the prosecution feels he quit the RAF about a year before he was arrested in January 1981.

His lawyer, the well-known Bremen barrister Heinrich Hannover, made his intention clear from the outset.

He would like to canvass understanding for the outlook of a client who has parted company with his former comrades but is not prepared to turn state's evidence as the director of public prosecutions would like to see him do.

"This case will be different from earlier ones, I feel bound to tell the court here and now," he said in Stammheim.

The aim of all concerned must be to find out the truth, he added, but that



Peter-Jürgen Boock

(Photo: AP)

was made more difficult by the inhuman architecture of the air-raid shelter-style Stammheim courtroom.

It was also made more difficult by the meticulous checks made on lawyers in the case. "It is hard to gain confidence here," he said, "and hard to canvass confidence in one's client."

Visitors to Stammheim, and that includes lawyers, are indeed frisked so thoroughly that they have to drop their pants and take off their shoes at times.

An entire profession cannot be penalised merely because two lawyers have been guilty of a breach of regulations, he argues.

Hannover more frequently refers to requests than to applications in his dealings with the court, while he claims that the entire architectural style of the courtroom is indicative of fear.

"Who are you afraid of?" he asked the Stuttgart court, calling on it to deal a blow to an unsatisfactory traditions.

The court has shown itself not unimpressed by Hannover's appeal, but it is unlikely to depart from the established procedure.

Yet at the same time there is a definite possibility of Boock's trial being held in a quieter atmosphere.

A gaunt figure with sharp features, he chose on the opening day of the case to add nothing to the prosecution's outline of his life story.

But his deep-set eyes attentively followed every detail of the proceedings and his clenched fists at times testified to tension.

He was born on 3 September 1951 in Garding, East Frisia, and grew up in Berlin. Described by the court as a casual worker, he has been married since 1973. But his wife was sentenced to twelve and a half years by a Vienna court for her part in a bank robbery in 1977.

He told his own life story in a magazine article last year. He claims to have left the GDR at 15, to have taken part in his first demonstrations in Berlin at 16 and at 17 to have sought refuge with a Dutch commune, only to be deported on a hashish charge.

He was then sent to a closed children's home where he took part in an uprising that was put down when the navy was called in.

Transferred to Hesse, he made friends with Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin, the later leaders of the RAF.

After several failed experiments in communal living, drug abuse and unsuccessful therapeutic treatment he claimed to have grown increasingly isolated from the outside world.

The prosecution says he was a RAF member from May 1976 to January 1980. This the defence does not dispute.

He is accused of having taken part in the murder of Frankfurt banker Jürgen Ponto on 30 July 1977 and of having played a leading part in the planning, preparation and execution of the abduction of Cologne employers' leader Hanns-Martin Schleyer.

Schleyer was murdered, and Boock is accused of complicity in his murder and that of his four bodyguards when he was kidnapped.

In Schleyer's case he is accused of complicity because he deliberately ran the risk of the employers' leader being murdered.

He is also accused of having assembled the rocket launcher used in a 25 August 1977 bid to bomb the Federal public prosecutor's office in Karlsruhe.

As Boock refuses to give evidence the trial is likely to long drawn-out and to rely on circumstantial evidence. It will take over a year, with 244 witnesses and 40 experts already having been named.

The *Bundeskriminalamt*, or CID, with its headquarters in Wiesbaden, disclosed some time ago that Boock's fingerprints were found on the car in which Schleyer was kidnapped.

He has been a wanted man since 1977 and was arrested in 1981. On arrest he was unarmed and had been living an ordinary life in a working-class suburb of Hamburg.

In an appeal published shortly after he was arrested he called on his friends and people who ran a risk of drifting into terrorism not to take the irrational path into the vacuum of illegality.

Fight for every man, he appealed, calling on the terrorists to abandon their lunacy. But to this day he has refused to give evidence against his former comrades.

All concerned at Stammheim will have their work cut out getting at the truth and nothing but the truth.

Stefan Geiger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 January 1983)